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The *JOURNAL*
of WILLIAM LOCKERBY
SANDALWOOD TRADER *in*
THE FIJIAN ISLANDS
1808-1809

SECOND SERIES
No. LII

ISSUED FOR 1922

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PLATE I. FIJIANS VISITING H.M.S. "PROVIDENCE." CAPT. BLIGH [1792]

The *JOURNAL*
of
WILLIAM LOCKERBY
SANDALWOOD TRADER *in*
THE FIJIAN ISLANDS
DURING *the* YEARS
1808-1809:

With
AN INTRODUCTION
& OTHER PAPERS CON-
NECTED *with* THE EARLIEST
EUROPEAN VISITORS *to the* ISLANDS.

Edited by
SIR EVERARD IM THURN,
K.C.M.G., K.B.E., C.B.,
and LEONARD C. WHARTON

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Sketch Maps (1) of part of 'Tocen Roba,' or 'Sandalwood Island' (Vanua Levu). *Place-names as in 1804-16.* (2) The same. *Equivalent Place-names as in 1922.* (3) The Fijian Islands, *as on modern charts.*

Sketch of part of the Pacific Ocean, to illustrate the sandal-wood trade to the Fijian Islands.

INTRODUCTION

TILL the end of the eighteenth century very little was known of the Fijian islands except from the scanty reports of the few seamen who in exploring the uncharted waters of the South Western Pacific had sighted, and even in very rare cases touched at, one or other of the smaller outlying islands. During the first ten or fifteen years of the following century, however, many British and American ships visited one part of the coast of one of the larger Fijian Islands, for the sake of the sandalwood which accidentally had been found to grow there abundantly. But surprisingly little record of these visits has survived, buried for the most part in the *Shipping Gazettes* of Australia and the East Indies. By 1815 the sandalwood had been exhausted, and for the next twenty years, though several strangers who had been brought by the sandalwood ships remained there—the so-called 'beach-combers,' the island folk were little visited from outside, unless by an occasional American ship in search of *bêche de mer*. Then, in 1837, Wesleyan missionaries gained a footing in the islands; and about the same time other Europeans began to establish themselves as traders among the native folk.

In 1830, and again in 1841, the French Captain Dumont D'Urvile, and in 1845 Commander Charles Wilkes, of the United States Exploring Expedition, published such information as to the history and state of the Fijian Islands as they picked up during their respective visits. But it was the Wesleyan missionaries, Thomas Williams, in 1858, and Joseph Waterhouse, in 1866, who made the first considerable attempt to tell the story of the islands, especially from the first advent of Europeans. The Wesleyans reconstructed their story only from local tradition; but it is rather surprising that they make so little mention of the sandalwood trade. Williams, moreover, is responsible for one erroneous statement, as to

the first coming of white men to Fiji, which has been copied by almost all writers on these Islands, and has thus given rise to a misunderstanding now to be corrected by the papers published in this volume. Williams wrote:

"About the year 1804 a number of convicts escaped from New South Wales and settled among the islands. Most of these 'desperadoes lived either on Mbau or Rewa, the chiefs of which allowed them whatever they chose to demand, receiving, in return, their aid in carrying on war."

Two considerable errors were here involved; the arrival of the first whitemen is wrongly described, and it was not to the islet of Mbau nor to the Rewa River, both of which are on the island of Viti Levu, but to Mbua Bay, on the Vanua Levu coast, that the new comers first resorted¹.

In 1915, my attention was first called, by Mr T. Athol Joyce of the British Museum, to an unpublished manuscript journal in the possession of one of his colleagues, Mr Leonard C. Wharton, also of the British Museum, which was said to have been written in Fiji during the time of the sandalwood trade, therefore, many years earlier than any other known account by an eye-witness of personal experience in those islands. A brief investigation soon showed that the manuscripts—for there are two very slightly divergent copies—revealed an interesting and obviously true story of the first entry in historical times of western folk into the islands; and it was a great pleasure to me when Mr Wharton, who is the great-grandson of William Lockerby, the writer of the journal, gave me the chance of editing the papers for the Hakluyt Society, and undertook to assist me as far as necessary in deciphering his ancestors somewhat crabbed handwriting².

Mr Wharton states that, as a child he first heard the family tradition that his great-grandfather, one William Lockerby, had disappeared, shortly after his marriage to a Miss Anna

¹ See also Sir Basil Thomson's *Fiji and the Fijians*, p. 27, note 2.

² I greatly regret that the war, my health, and other considerations, have prevented me from completing the work till now. The delay has, however, been of some advantage in that it has allowed me to append several other papers which illustrate and confirm Lockerby's story.

Curran, that it was supposed he had been taken, in Liverpool, by a press-gang—the date of his disappearance being about the middle of the Napoleonic wars and on the eve of the American war of 1812-14; and that after a time most of his relations and friends assumed that he was dead, but his wife refused to wear mourning and expected his return. The tradition continued, that Lockerby did return, after several years, and accounted for his absence by saying that he had been marooned in the Fiji Islands, then not an uncommon way of disposing of troublesome pressed men. It was added, probably not by Lockerby himself, that a dusky princess of those parts had there fallen in love with him, had married him, had helped him with her people, and that eventually he had got away quite amicably.

The young people of the family knew that Lockerby had written a long account of his experiences in Fiji; but the elder members, under the influence of old fashioned prudery, were very shy of allowing access to this narrative, so that it was not till almost a century after it had been written that Leonard Wharton was allowed even to see the true story of his great-grandfather's adventure.

Meanwhile, somewhere about 1850, Lockerby's original manuscript had been deposited with a publisher of the name of Rainsford, with a view to possible publication; but, Rainsford dying shortly afterwards, all trace of these papers was lost. Fortunately, however, William Lockerby had at an early period made a copy—said to have been somewhat condensed—of his manuscript, for the information of his parents; and at some later period, a second copy was made by another member of the family. Both these copies have now been inherited by Mr Leonard Wharton. The version here printed follows Lockerby's own copy; but the second copy, which differs in no very material respects, has been used to help in deciphering Lockerby's obscure passages.

Some account of William Lockerby's life before and after his Fijian adventure seems desirable; but it is not easy to piece together any connected story from the few available sources of information.

The following is an extract from an autobiographical account of his ancestry and birth.

“Memoir of the ancestry of William Lockerby, who was born “on the 6th of January in the year 1782, at a place called Ash-“bridge, near by the town of Lockerby, in the district of Annan-“dale, and county of Dumfries. He was the eldest son of John “Lockerby, by his wife Jannet Crichton. The said John was the “lineal descendant of the Lockerbys of that ilk, who were from “a very early period the proprietors of considerable lands and “holdings in that neighbourhood. They were the masters of “Lockerby castle, which was a place of note during the Border “wars, and in the chronicles of which many acts and deeds of “valour are recorded of its Chieftains and their followers....In “1715, the Lockerbys having taken part with the exiled family “of the Stewarts, their lands and holdings were forfeited, and of “the Castle of Lockerby at the present time only a small portion “of its walls remain....The mother of William Lockerby, as before “stated, was Jannet Crichton. She was the daughter of George “Crichton, of Bengall, a village on the banks of the river Annan. “He was the descendant of the Crichtons of that ilk, and he is “said to have been a man of spirit and enterprize. It is related “of him that in the year 1745, when the Highlanders and Prince “Charlie were proceeding to the south, and were making bone “prize and levying blackmail upon friends and foes, that he, “George Crichton, with his dependants and the men of the village, “having driven their horses and cattle to the top of Halliday Hill, “did there manfully defend their property against a host of “Highlanders, and that in revenge the Highlanders set fire to the “village, and George Crichton’s house was burnt to the ground, “and that his wife, Jannet Halliday, with her infant daughter “with difficulty escaped from the burning edifice. The latter was “the mother of the subject of the present memoir.”

Under what circumstances William Lockerby changed his domicile from Scotland to England is not clear. But from certain fragments of correspondence which have been preserved in his family it is evident that for some years previous to his Fijian adventure he regarded Liverpool as his headquarters, but had certain business connections with London, and, moreover, had made several sea voyages. After the return from Fiji, and indeed to the end of his life, Liverpool continued to be his home, though, as before, he absented

himself on several voyages. He must certainly have been to some extent successful in business. In the Liverpool Directory for 1847 he appears as William Lockerby, Merchant, living at 1 Windsor Terrace, Liverpool; and, though absent from the issue for the following year, he reappears in those for 1849 to 1853 as William Lockerby, Shipowner, Fairfield House, Fairfield.

In the autumn of 1847, the last year in which he is shown as living in Liverpool, Lockerby bought the whole, or at any rate a considerable part, of the Fairfield Hall Estate, in the West Derby suburb of Liverpool. A plan of this estate, dated 1850, and signed "Mr Keightley," shows that part of the land had by that time been divided into building lots, applicants for which were invited to apply for particulars to William Lockerby, Esq., at Fairfield House, which was the name he gave to the house he had built for his own occupation on part of his land.

Fairfield House lay in the angle between Holly Road and another, named Lockerby Road, which joins the main London Road. The Fairfield Hall Estate has of late been much built over; but the original Hall was not pulled down till 1921, and Lockerby's house still survives, as No. 3 Holly Road. Moreover, Lockerby Road still exists under that name, and at one side of it there is a church hall, known as Lockerby Hall.

At Fairfield House William Lockerby died on the 29th of June, 1853, in the seventieth year of his age. His wife, Anna Curran, had died four years previously, presumably also at the same place. How soon after Lockerby's death his heirs sold the estate is unknown; but it was certainly in the market, and was sold to a new owner on the 16th of September, 1858.

Lockerby and his wife had seven daughters and one son. The eldest child, Ellen, was born during her father's absence in Fiji; she died in 1845. Jane, born about a year after her father's return, married one Richard Gaskell. Jeannette Ann, born 26th of February, 1814, married Augustus Mongredien, and survived till the 1st of December, 1884. Ann, born 29th

of August, 1816, married George Perigal, son of a then well-known historical painter; she, after her father's death, was the custodian of the journal, till her own death on the 1st of December, 1884. The only son, William John, born 26th of November, 1818, married Eliza Jane Curran, a relative of his mother, and lived in the Isle of Man, but seems early to have lost touch with the other members of the family. Next came a girl, in 1821, who died within a few hours of her birth. Another daughter, Crighton, born on the 15th of July, 1824, married Frederick Perigal, a younger brother of her brother-in-law George, and was the mother of a girl, Caroline, who married Henry Thornton Wharton, and was the mother of Leonard C. Wharton, the present owner of both copies of his great-grandfather's journal. William Lockerby's youngest child was Jemima, born 16th of December, 1825. She died unmarried, about 1900; and it was from this great aunt Jemima that Leonard Wharton inherited the journal, of which she had become custodian after Mrs George Perigal's death.

To obtain full value from Lockerby's journal, and the other notes brought together in this volume, it is necessary to consider in some detail the whole story of the unveiling of the Fijian Islands, and, incidentally, to set out the brief episode of the sandalwood trade which allows a glimpse of the Islands when first penetrated by Europeans.

Very seldom is it possible to trace the gradual approach of men of western civilisation into any, till then, secluded and quite unknown part of the world as minutely as is possible in the case of the European adventurers who during the 17th and 18th centuries first sighted, long afterwards set foot on, and eventually settled in the Fijian Islands. Unusual opportunity is thus afforded of perceiving some of the early stages of contact between civilised and uncivilised but in their way highly cultured folk, wrongly dubbed 'savages.'

In 1643, Abel Janszoon Tasman, in the "Heemskerck," with the "Zeehahn" in company, having discovered the group now known as the Tongan or Friendly Islands, sailed

to the north-west, and on the 6th of February found his ships entangled among some islets and shoals which he named 'Prins Wyllems Islands,' in honour of Prince William of Orange. This is the first recorded instance of western eyes seeing any of the Fijian Islands.

"In the morning (Tasman wrote in his *Journal*) we again saw "land, to wit three small islets, on all sides surrounded by shoals "and reefs; we tacked about to the south, and saw a large reef "off westward, stretching as far as the south, which we sincerely "regretted; this land is fully 8 or 9 miles in length; straight "ahead there were also breakers, which we were unable to pass. "Seeing that we could clear neither the reef straight ahead, nor "another which lay north of us, we observed to leeward a small "space about two ship's length wide, where there were no "breakers; for this we made, since there was no other way of "escape; we passed between the rocks in 4 fathoms, but not "without great anxiety; all about here there are reefs and 18 or "19 islands, but the shoals which abound here and are very "dangerous, render it impossible for ships to pass between them.... "We should have greatly liked to come to anchor near one of "these islands, but could find no road-stead, on account of the "numberless shoals and reefs that run out to sea from all these "islands. At noon we turned our course to northward, in order "if possible to get clear of all these shoals in the day time; to- "wards the north, too, we saw numerous shoals everywhere, "which it would be difficult to pass through; at length, however, "we found an opening, and sailed through between the reefs, "but to our great regret we had to leave these isles.... In the "evening we saw three hills, which we thought to be islands; "during 5 glasses of the first watch we again made for the land "in order to avoid the shoal ahead of us; the wind was blowing "from the east, and we sailed with our main-sail set; when "5 glasses of the first watch were out, we tacked to the north- "ward, and ran northward till daybreak, when we saw the island "which on the previous evening we had seen north by west of us¹."

There can be little doubt that the islets and reefs of which Tasman caught a passing glimpse that day in the year 1643 were if not the Ringgold Islands but some other of the dangerous clusters which lie off the north-eastern point of Vanua Levu—Lockyerby's Sandalwood Island—and that 'the hills'

¹ *Journal*, Amsterdam edition, pp. 33 and 34 of translation.

which he saw in the evening, and again in the morning, when he thought them to be 'islands,' were the high ground on and beyond Undu Point.

No part of the Fijian Islands was again seen by European eyes for 131 years. In 1774 Captain Cook, on his way from the Friendly Islands to the New Hebrides, sailed north-west, and, on the 2nd of July, sighted a small island, and sent the master to sound.

"At the time four or five people were seen on the reef, which "lies about the island, and about three times that number on "the shore. As the boat advanced, those on the reef retired and "joined the others; and when the boat landed, they all fled to "the woods....The master left on the rocks some medals, nails, "and a knife; which they, no doubt, found, as some were seen "near the place afterwards. The island is not quite a league in "length...and not half that in breadth. It is covered with wood, "and surrounded by a reef of coral rocks, which, in some places, "extend for two miles from the shore. It seems to be too small "to contain many inhabitants; and probably the few whom we "saw, may have come from some isle in the neighbourhood, to "fish for turtle, as many were seen near the reef, and occasioned "their name to be given to the island¹."

The same afternoon the boats were hoisted in, and the ships made sail to the west.

Cook's 'Turtle Island' is the Vatoa of modern charts. It was surveyed by the "Porpoise," of the United States' Exploring Expedition, on the 26th of August, 1840, at which time the island had "about 50 inhabitants, who have native "missionaries, and are Christians²."

Captain Cook, except as above, never saw any part of the Fijian Islands; but when at Tongatabu in July 1777, he there met some Fijians, from whom he learned certain details, and from the Tongans he heard much more, as to these islands, lying away in the north-west, of their fertility, and of the ability and warlike character of their inhabitants³. Cook's

¹ *Voyage to the South Pole...in the Years 1772, 1773, 1774 and 1775*, Vol. II, pp. 23, 24.

² *U.S.A. Exploring Expedition*, Vol. III, pp. 378-9.

³ *Voyage to the Pacific Ocean...in the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779 and 1780*, Vol. I, p. 374.

account of the incident must have been the first to reach the outer world.

In 1789, Captain William Bligh—‘Breadfruit Bligh’—after the mutiny on H.M.S. “Bounty,” off the Friendly or Tongan Islands, having been set adrift in the ship’s launch, with the loyal members of the “Bounty’s” crew, was the next to see any of the Fijian Islands. From the scene of the mutiny, Bligh and his fellow refugees first made for Tofoa, one of the Friendly Islands, where they were ill received by the natives; thence they made sail for Timor, “a distance of full “1200 leagues, where there was a Dutch settlement.” Leaving Tofoa at 8 p.m. on the 2nd of May, 1789, Bligh steered west-north-west; “for,” he wrote, “I not only expected to have “better weather, but to see the Feejee Islands, as I have often “understood, from the natives of Anamocka, that they lie in “that direction. Captain Cook, likewise, considered them to “be N.W. by W. from Tongataboo.” On the 4th of May eight islands were sighted: “those to the south, which were “the nearest, being four leagues distant from us, and at “6 p.m. three other small islands were sighted¹.”

Early the next morning, Bligh ‘discovered two islands.’ At daylight a number of other islands were in sight; and at noon, Bligh wrote:

“a small sandy island or key, two miles distant from me, bore “from E. to $\frac{3}{4}$ S. I had passed ten islands, the largest of which “I judge to be six or eight leagues in circuit. Much larger lands “appeared in S.W. and N.N.W., between which I directed my “course....We continued steering to the N.W., between the “islands, which, by the evening, appeared of considerable extent, “woody and mountainous....At dawn...we again discovered land “from W.S.W. to W.N.W., and another island N.N.W., the “latter a high lump of but little extent.

“The land to the west was distinguished by some extraordinary “high rocks, which, as we approached them assumed a variety “of forms. The country appeared to be agreeably interspersed “with high and low land, and in some places covered with wood. “Off the N.E. part lay some small rocky islands, between which

¹ Bligh’s *Voyage to the South Seas...in His Majesty’s Ship “Bounty,”* p. 179 *et seq.*

“and an island to the N.E., I directed my course; but a lee current set us very unexpectedly very near to the rocky isles, “and we could only get clear of them by rowing, passing close to the reef which surrounded them. At this time we observed two large sailing canoes coming swiftly after us along shore, “and, being apprehensive of their intentions, we rowed with some anxiety, fully sensible of our weak and defenceless state.... “All the afternoon, we had light winds at N.N.E.; the weather “was very rainy, attended with thunder and lightning. Only one “of the canoes gained upon us, which by three o'clock in the “afternoon was not more than two miles off, when she gave over “chase. If I may judge from the sail of these vessels, they are “of a similar construction with those at the Friendly Islands, “which, with the nearness of their situation, gives reason to be- “lieve that they are the same kind of people. Whether these “canoes had any hostile intention against us must remain a doubt: “perhaps we might have benefited by an intercourse with them; “but in our defenceless situation, to have made the experiment, “would have been risking too much. I imagine these to be the “islands called Feejee, as their extent, direction, and distance “from the Friendly Islands, answers to the description of them “given by those islanders.”

On the following day Bligh noted:

“The land passed yesterday and the day before, is a group of “islands, 14 or 16 in number, lying between the latitude of “16° 26' S. and 17° 57' S., and in longitude, by my account, 4° 47' “to 7° 17' W. from Tofoa. Three of these islands are very large, “having from 30 to 40 leagues of sea-coast.”

Owing to the unpropitious circumstances under which Bligh observed them, it seems difficult exactly to identify the individual islands by which the “Bounty’s” launch passed; but there can be no doubt that these were some of the Fijian Islands, and but little that it was from Yasawa Island that the canoes came out and chased the launch. Accordingly, on the earlier charts, for instance, on Arrowsmith’s great chart of the Pacific in 9 sheets, ‘Bligh’s Islands,’ with the ‘Prince William’s Isles’ of Tasman, and Turtle Island of Captain Cook, represent the Fijian Group for the first time.

Mention must now be made of another visit, equally brief, of Europeans to the Fijian Islands in the same year (1789)

that the "Bounty's" launch passed through the group. The following passage from the *Bengal Hurkaru* (No. 3590) for October the 2nd, 1826, suggest, with much probability, that the "Bounty" herself, after the mutiny and her subsequent return, under Christian, to Tahiti, actually touched at a Fijian island, and that this island, rather than Pitcairn, might have become the hiding place of the mutineers. It is part of a statement taken down by the missionary Nott, in 1826, from the lips of the Tahitian woman Jenny, one of those who had accompanied the mutineers on their final departure from Tahiti, in search of a safe refuge from the expected vengeance of the British Admiralty. The statement purports to have been written down in the presence of Captain Peter Dillon, when he called, in 1826, in his ship, the "St Patrick," at Pitcairn Island, and to have been given by Dillon to the *Hurkaru*.

The statement begins with the arrival of the "Bounty" at Matavai Bay (Tahiti), in possession of the mutineers. The woman Jenny went on board there, and the ship soon after sailed. The mutineers first attempted to settle at Tubuai, but, after a collision with the islanders, abandoned that plan, and returned to Matavai Bay, where several other Tahitian women went on board, and were carried off to sea against their intentions and wishes; while all but nine of the mutineers left the ship and remained on shore. One woman swam ashore, and six others were landed by a canoe which came off to the ship from Mo'orea. Twelve women and four Tahitian men then remained on board. They sailed "to the westward, and after many days a small island was discovered, called by the natives 'Purutea'." After several days more they saw one of the Tongatabu Islands.

"Several canoes came off with abundance of hogs, yams, and poultry. They said that Tuti (Captain Cook) had been there, "and that the horned cattle left by him were living. After two "days stay, they sailed away, still to leeward, and a few days "afterwards discovered a small low island. Here Christian pro- "posed to stop....Finding the inhabitants were numerous they "sailed away that night to windward. Two months elapsed before "land was again seen until Pitcairn's island was discovered in "the evening."

Sir Basil Thomson, in his edition of Captain Edward Edwards's recently recovered *Reports* of the voyage of H.M.S. "Pandora," which was sent from England to the South Seas to arrest the mutineers of the "Bounty" (1790-91), has recently called attention to the all but certain fact that certain of the crew of the "Pandora" visited and lay at anchor at one of the Fijian Islands, in 1791, which Sir Basil, though with somewhat less certainty, would identify with Matuku, one of the southernmost of the Fijian group.

When the "Pandora" reached Tahiti, she found not only some of the mutineers but also a small schooner which these unfortunate men had built—as the old-fashioned sailor so often did when cast away—for the purpose of effecting their escape. Captain Edwards took possession of this small vessel and fitted it out to serve as tender to the "Pandora" on her further voyage, Mr Oliver, Masters Mate, Midshipmen Renouard, Quartermaster James Dodds, and six sailors being told off to man the boat. On the 22nd of June, 1791, off Upolu, one of the Samoan Group, in thick weather, the tender parted company with the "Pandora," and ran westward for the appointed *rendezvous* at Namuka in the Tongan Group, but reached Tofoa, which she mistook for Namuka. Not finding the "Pandora," on or about the 1st of July, 1791, the tender continued on her western course, till, after two days, she came to an unknown island, where she remained for five weeks, always hoping for the arrival of the "Pandora," and meanwhile taking in water and provisions. Thence this little craft boldly ran for the Dutch East Indies; and, soon after passing through Endeavour Strait, she encountered a small Dutch vessel by which meeting the tender and her long-suffering crew were taken to Samarang, in Java, where the survivors from the "Pandora," which meanwhile had been wrecked on the Australian coast, were found.

Captain Edwards, no doubt rightly, at once identified the island at which the tender had lain for five weeks as "one of "the Feejee islands"; and Sir Basil Thomson, of his great local knowledge, has given good reason to believe that the island was really Matuku, and that Oliver and the crew of

the little schooner were thus the first white men to remain for any considerable time—*i.e.* five weeks—at a Fijian island. Unfortunately there is no record of what communication Oliver had with the natives, beyond the mere fact that stores were taken in.

But it is well here to note that Sir Basil Thomson's incidental suggestion that the Fijian tradition, as to the coming of the first white man's ship, refers to the visit of the "Pandora's" tender is doubtful. Internal evidence makes it much more probable that that tradition refers to the passing through the group, as will presently be told, of the "El Plumier" in 1801.

Thirteen months after this visit of the "Pandora's" tender, between the 5th and the 11th of August, 1792, Captain William Bligh passed for the second time through the Fijian Islands, then better known as 'Bligh's Islands.' Not long after he had reached England from his first but frustrated attempt to transport Breadfruit trees from Tahiti to the West Indies, he was, to his great satisfaction, commissioned to make a second attempt; and, having secured a supply of the desired plant in Tahiti, he, not unnaturally, so directed his course to the West Indies as to pass over as much as possible of the ground so painfully traversed in the "Bounty's" launch. The journals which Bligh and his subordinate officers kept on this second occasion had been long overlooked, but have now been safely deposited in the Public Record Office, and have lately been published, in sufficient abstract and adequate annotation, by Mrs Charles Marriott ('Ida Lee'). From the Vavau Group of the Friendly Islands, he entered 'the Fejees' at the south-eastern extremity, but somewhat to the north of the point by which he had passed in the "Bounty's" launch; then, steering N.W. nearly as far as Taveuni, he next turned S.W., thus twice crossing the course of the launch, after which he rounded the southern shore of Kandavu, and made for the New Hebrides, on his way to pass through the Endeavour Strait. On this occasion Bligh sighted Fiji on the 5th, and last saw them on the 11th of August, 1792, but never set foot on shore, and had, it seems, no communication

with the natives, except once when two natives came out by night in a canoe from the Island of Mothe to the English ships. This incident, off Mothe, was roughly depicted in his journal by Lt. George Tobin, whose sketch forms the basis for Miss Gardner King's drawing which appears as the frontispiece to this volume.

In more than one of the now obsolete encyclopaedias of the first part of the 18th century, there is reference to the first sighting, in 1794, of certain Fijian Islands (undoubtedly the Yasawa Islands) off the N.W. coast of Viti Levu, by a Captain Barber of the snow "Arthur." The most detailed of these references is from George Alexander Cooke's *Modern and Authentic System of Universal Geography*, London, 1811?, p. 103. It is as follows:

"The most western part of this group (Feejee Islands) was discovered by Captain Barber, in the Snow 'Arthur,' 26th of April, 1794, on his passage from Port Jackson to the north-west of America. He saw six of the islands, the largest of which he places in latitude $17^{\circ} 30'$, $175^{\circ} 15'$ east longitude. He anchored in a bay on its western side, and some natives who came off in a canoe were reluctant to come on board, and seemed to be unaccustomed to trade. The next day a number of canoes attacked the ship, and two of the crew were wounded by them with arrows. The savages attempted to board, but were repulsed with the ship's swivels and small arms. The navigation on this, as on every other side of the group, was found to be intricate and dangerous.

"It is uncertain whether these numerous and extensive islands are connected together under a distinct government, or whether they are independent of each other, or mostly subject to Tongataboo. It is certain at least that some of the principal islands have been independent of its government and occasionally hostile to it. They are also of a distinct race, and speak a different language, and, beside spears and clubs, make use of bows and arrows in battle."

Search for confirmation of this story has resulted in finding only this: David Collins, Secretary of the Colony of New South Wales records¹ that on Monday the 10th of March,

¹ Collins, *Account of the English Colony in New South Wales*, Vol. 1 (1798), pp. 352-63.

1794, "at the critical moment when the doors of the provision-store had closed, and the convicts had received their 'last allowance of the salt provisions which remained,'" the signal for a sail was made at the South-head, the brig¹, was in sight. At three on the afternoon of the 10th, the weather having abated, the "Arthur," Captain Barber, a small brig of about ninety-five tons, from Bengal, arrived, having on board some beef and pork, sugar, Bengal rum, and coarse calicoes. The small quantity of salt provisions was purchased on account of Government for £307. 16s.; the beef at five-pence and the pork at eight-pence per pound; and the remainder of her cargo was purchased by the officers of the civil and military departments².

In a despatch dated 28th of April, 1794, Lt.-Governor Grose also noted³ that "a brig from Bengal (the 'Arthur') 'has called here on her way to the coast of America. From 'her I directed the Commissary to purchase some salted meat 'she has brought for sale.'"

The snow "Arthur," Captain Barber, left Port Jackson on the 3rd of April, for the North West Coast. She was, as has already been told, in conflict with the natives of the Yasawa Islands on the 26th of the same month; and on the 15th of the following July, Captain Vancouver, who was at the time in 'Bering Bay' (at the north-western corner of what is now British Columbia), saw the "Arthur," commanded by a Mr Barber, belonging to Bengal, but last from Port Jackson, run in and come to anchor near by. Captain Barber on the "Arthur" left Bering Bay on the 23rd of July⁴.

There are later references to Captain Barber as a fur-trader on the North West Coast, on the "Unicorn" in 1802, and again on the "Myrtle" in 1807⁵.

The next to pass through the Fijian Islands—but again without having any communication with the natives—was the missionary ship "Duff," which, after depositing the

¹ There seems to be very slight difference between 'a brig' and 'a snow.'

² Collins, *Account*, Vol. I, pp. 353, 355 and 359.

³ H.R., N.S.W. Vol. III, p. 209.

⁴ Vancouver's *A Voyage of Discovery in the North Pacific Ocean*. Ed. 1801, Vol. v, p. 411. ⁵ Bancroft, *Alaska*, pp. 404 and 409.

London Society's missionaries, including George Vason, at various islands to the eastward, finally left Tongatabu for China on the 7th of September, 1797. The "Duff," Captain James Wilson, entered the Fijian Group, as so many of the previous ships had done, at the S.E. extremity, and at once got entangled in the maze of rocks and reefs which fringes the eastern side of the larger islands. Captain Wilson's Journal gives a vivid picture of the dangers through which the "Duff" passed.

On the 8th of September, 1797, Captain Wilson wrote¹:

"we sighted two islands, the southernmost of which had a re-
"markably flat top, on which account we called it Table Island.
"Before dark we could see other islands further to the westward,
"and supposed them to be either the same, or very near to those,
"Captain Bligh first fell in with after leaving Tofua in the launch.
"During the night about six hours we lay with the ship's head
"to the northward, then wore to the southward till daylight; in
"which last space of time we must have passed close to a dan-
"gerous reef, named in the chart Providence reef....When the
"day broke we thought we had a clear sea, and at 6 o'clock bore
"away, and ran W.N.W. about half an hour, when we discovered
"several islands besides those we had seen on the previous evening,
"and perceived that extensive reefs surrounded every one of them.
"In viewing our situation from aloft it appeared very critical,
"and occasioned the island ahead to be called Danger Island.
"A little from this island S.E. lay three or four small islets, and
"a coral reef extended about 3 or 4 miles from these. On our
"starboard quarter another reef trended to the N.E., further than
"we could see, as the weather was hazy. Thus we were running
"directly for Danger Island, and leaving those extensive reefs
"upon each quarter, when the sight of many more islands gave
"us reason to suppose that to attempt a passage through them
"would be hazardous, if not impracticable."

Wilson therefore tried to work the ship out by the way it had come in, and eventually,

"after making a few tacks, at 9.30 a.m., we passed to the wind-
"ward of the S.E. reef, and stood toward Table Island....As we
"ran along we saw a large space to leeward free from reefs, which
"almost tempted us to bear away; but proceeding further, the
"islands to the S.W. appeared connected (by reefs)."

¹ Wilson, *Missionary Voyage...in the "Duff,"* p. 286.

The "Duff" thereupon passed northward, keeping to the east of the whole group of isles and reefs, though Wilson supposed that in fine weather a passage might be found through them.

On the 10th of September the ship passed Providence reef, and afterwards the "N.E. reef, where once more we appeared "to have a clear sea. Table and Danger Islands, of which we "had the nearest view, wore an aspect of fertility, having the "loftiest hills covered with trees to their summits."

As is evident from Wilson's chart, the "Duff" was now clear from the first group of Fijian Islands with which it had met, and was now running through open water, at first northward and then westward.

"On the 12th," Wilson's Journal continues, "we were in "latitude $16^{\circ} 42' S.$ and $180^{\circ} 30' E.$; half an hour afterwards "we saw land bearing south, for which we hauled up, wishing "to have some intercourse with the natives." Unfortunately the wish was not fulfilled. In running southward, Wilson here "had a reef on the weather side, just in sight from the "deck, and a low island on the lee beam bearing W. by N.;" and, still running south and a little west, the ship "just "weathered a reef lying eastward from a small but high "island—which was thereupon named Bluff Island." Standing a little farther, Wilson tacked ship close to the N.E. reefs of what he called Sir Charles Middleton's Island, and chose the ground between this and the before-mentioned reef (Bluff Island reef) to spend the night in, as he had the bearings of several islands by which to direct the ship clear of the surrounding danger.

At daybreak on the 13th the "Duff" ran along the north side of Sir Charles Middleton's Island. There appeared to be no opening through the reef, though, he thought, one might perhaps be found somewhere about the island, if diligently sought for; but on this side there is none. Leaving Middleton's Island he steered west by compass four or five leagues, and passed by what he called Maitland Island, or as he calls it elsewhere 'Isle of Direction.' There were natives on the beach (of Maitland Island) with spears in

their hands; and the island, which was moderately high, seemed to abound in the common produce; but, like those he had already seen, it was quite surrounded by a reef. Therefore sailing W.N.W. about six leagues further, he came near to the east end of another pretty large island, called Ross's Island, where vast numbers of the natives were seen, assembled upon the beach, and smoke was seen among the trees; but they were quite secure, being, like their neighbours, strongly fortified with a surrounding reef. Many larger islands were in sight to leeward, which, from examination of Bligh's narrative, Wilson supposed to lie N.E. from the large islands which Bligh passed when the canoes chased him. From the mast-head a reef was observed trending to the N.E., to weather which the "Duff" was hauled to the northward; and passing it, stood towards some small islands, which were named 'the Clusters.' As night approached, being surrounded with reefs and islands on all sides, the ship was put under an easy sail, and the clearest space short tacks were made till next morning.

"At seven o'clock (Wilson continues), a small island to wind-ward bore E. by N., and the highest of the Cluster bore S.S.W.; "the wind was easterly, and the sea was smooth as a river. At "the above time we stood to S.E. by S. under the topsails; and "at nine o'clock, no danger appearing, we thought ourselves safe; "but we were presently alarmed by the ship striking on a coral "reef, upon which the sea hardly broke to give the least warning. "All hands were upon deck in an instant, and, as she stuck fast, "became under great apprehensions of being ship-wrecked; a "misfortune which presented itself with a thousand frightful "ideas. We know that the Feejees were cannibals of a fierce "disposition, and who had not had the least intercourse with any "voyagers; consequently we could expect no favour from such. "Imagination, quick and fertile on such occasions, figured their "dancing round us while we were roasted on large fires. However, "it was no time to indulge thoughts of this kind, but to try what "could be done to save the ship. Judging it to be a weather reef "we were on, the moment she struck the sails were hove aback, "and within about five or six minutes we beheld with joy that "she came astern, and shortly afterwards was quite afloat; when "we were again delivered from our fears, and found the ship,

“which had kept upright the whole time, seemed to have received “no injury. It was not possible to ascertain at sea what damage “had been sustained, as she made no water; but on coming into “dock we discovered how very wonderfully we had been pre- “served. The coral rock on which we struck was providentially “directed exactly against one of the timbers. The violence of “the blow had beat in the copper, deeply wounded the plank “and bent it to shivers. Had the stroke been between the ribs “of the ship, it must have gone through, and we had probably “never returned to adore the author of our mercies.

“When the day showed (on the 14th) the dangers which lay “hid on every side, it...made us very desirous to get clear of them “as fast as possible. With this view we steered N.N.W. betwixt “several small reefs not larger in circumference than the ship, “and with scarce a wash of the sea upon them. They seemed to “extend on both sides of us as far as we could see. When we had “passed these, and began to bring the islands astern, we thought “ourselves quite clear, and were regretting that we could have “no intercourse with the inhabitants, who, we had no doubt, “would have been willing to barter with us, had we found “anchorage for the ship; for with these people the Friendly “Islanders carry on a trade with the articles they get from us. “At nine a.m. another island came in sight to the north-west, for “which we shaped our course, to try if anchorage could be found “near it; and the weather side appearing on our approach to be “clear of reefs, it gave us hopes that the lee side would be the “same; but it proved otherwise. At noon the body of the island “bore south, distant one mile....Along this north side, there “being no reef, the sea broke violently against the cliffs, which “are high, and from the face of them huge fragments have fallen “off, and lie scattered at their base. These cliffs, especially to- “wards the north-west end, have a less fertile appearance than “those we had already passed; but towards the east end the “island wears a better aspect; and at this part there were natives “and houses upon the top of the hill. Probably there is low ground “on the south-west side, where we intended to anchor; but coming “to the north-west point, we saw a shoal close to us, and a large “flat ran S.W. off the island; and as this was the last we saw of “this dangerous group, it received the name of Farewell Island.”

Wilson supposes these islands to be Tasman’s ‘Prince William’s Islands’ and adds

“however, it may be presumed that but part of them have as yet “been seen by Europeans, as it was evident that many large

"islands lay to the S.W., the nearest of which¹ we could but faintly distinguish, and some were at a distance from the tracks of Captain Bligh in the launch of the *Bounty*, and afterwards "in the Providence."

Captain Wilson also rightly assumed that these islands were 'the Feejees' of the people of Tongatabu. He adds that the islands generally appeared high, fertile, with considerable cultivation:

"When we passed close we saw many inhabitants, and have "no doubt that they are all well peopled; and they must be an "improved people in the savage state, for the natives of the "Friendly Islands, who are unwilling to give place to any, ac- "knowledge that the Feejees excel them in many ingenious works; "that they possess larger canoes, and are a brave, fighting people; "but abhor them for their detestable practice of eating their "unfortunate prisoners. They use bows and arrows in war."

Only one other ship has to be mentioned as having approached the group before the close of the 18th century. The incident has hitherto been known only from a misleading reference in Admiral Krusenstern's *Mémoires Hydrographiques*², in which it is stated that "Captain Maitland of "the American ship 'Ann and Hope' (in 1799) saw a part "of the Islands, to which he gave the name 'Land of Liberty'." The true story is recorded in the 3rd edition (dated 1808) of Laurie and Whittle's *Oriental Navigator; or New Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland &c.* With considerable additions: lately revised and carefully corrected by John Stevens, of the Honourable (East India) Company's Service.

On pages 703-704 of this *Oriental Navigator* is given the following:

"Extract of the *Journal of the American ship Ann and Hope*, "Captain Christopher Bentley. This ship sailed from *Rhode Island*, the 9th of August 1799, and arrived in China the 19th "of January 1800, which is considered as a reasonable passage; "as from the Cape of Good Hope, she came round New Holland "through the South and North Pacific Oceans, and went as far

¹ It must have been Vanua Levu or Sandalwood Island.

² p. 232.

"to the eastward as the ship¹ whose discoveries we have just described. She ranged along the north-westernmost extremity of the *Friendly Isles*, and found several new islands.

"Thursday, December 5th, (says the Journal) at day-light, $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4, saw land, apparently an island; the north-west part, "then in sight, rose in a very high peak, resembling a sugar-loaf (*A*), tapering off to the S.E. to a low point, which bore E. "by N. the peak E.N.E. distance off the nearest shore 7 leagues; "it was named *Hope Island* (*B*).

"At 8 a.m. saw land to the E.N.E. supposed to be another island, but at a great distance (*C*). At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 8 saw land N.N.W., "a low level island, about 5 leagues distant. At 9 bore away "N.W. This island is full of trees: a vast number of cocoa-nut "trees overtopping the others, it received the name of *Cocoa-nut Island*. It extends S.E. by S. and N.W. by N.; and off the south-east point saw dangerous breakers, stretching 4 or 5 miles: on "the south-west shore saw likewise several breakers, intermixed "with white sandy beach. We coasted along this island, on the "south-west side, at about 3 leagues off shore; it seemed to be "8 or 9 miles in length, and has the appearance of being good "fertile land. We saw several fires.

"At 11 lost sight of Hope Island, the peak bearing S.E. saw "high land in the north-east quarter, and at the back of Cocoanut "Island: off the north-west end of this island about 2 miles lies "a small islet covered with trees.

"Friday 6th. At 3 p.m. descried an island bearing N.N.W. and "soon after saw land N.W. by N. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. which we supposed to be "an island also; and perhaps there may be a continual range of "islands, from the land we first perceived, and what we see at 5, "which extends N.W. by N. as much as 100 miles. At 5 the "westernmost land in sight, which I call *First or South Island*, "bore N.N.W. $\frac{1}{2}$ N. distant 6 leagues, and making like 4 sugar-loaves.

"At 6 p.m. Seventeen small islands now in sight, at the back, "or N.E. of which is very high mountainous land. At 8 the "westernmost land bore North, when there seems to be a termination of the main high land or large island.

"Pleasant weather during the night; stood off and on under "single reefed top-sails and fore-sail. At 5 a.m. the westernmost "island bore N.N.E. made sail to the North. At 8, 18 or 19 "separate islands in sight, the same seen last evening; a long "range of high land extending at the back of them as far as E.N.E.

¹ The "Hunter," Captain Fearn in 1798, *l.c.* 697-702.

“At meridian the island which I call *Second* or *North Island*, “bore *per* true North N.E. by E. and First Island S.E. by E. “each about 6 leagues distant.

“Monday, December the 9th. At 6 a.m. were alarmed by “seeing the bottom under the ship, apparently at no great depth, “speckled with very black and white spots; tacked immediately; “sounded and had 12 fathoms, black, white and reddish coral: “in half an hour went over the bank, and perceived round the “edges of it considerable rippling. It extends about 2 miles “E.N.E. and W.N.W. and its extreme breadth is about a mile; “no breakers seen, and perhaps there may not be less than “fathoms on it.”

The extract from the Journal of the “Ann and Hope” here ends. But the editor adds:

“The north-western extremity of the *Friendly Islands*, along “which the *Ann and Hope* coasted 120 miles *per compass*, and made “the discoveries above mentioned, was called by her the **LAND** “**OF LIBERTY**, and supposed to be the Isles of *Hamsa*, *Vavao* and “*Fejee*, to the southward of which Captain Bligh sailed in 1792. “The whole, except the small islets, appeared cultivated, and “seemed enclosed in many parts.”

The ‘very high land’ first sighted from the “Ann and “Hope” was Nambukelevu, in recent times often called ‘Mt. ‘Washington,’ the extinct volcanic cone at the western end of the island of Kandavu; and it was to that island itself that Captain Bentley gave the name of ‘Hope Island.’ The island next seen ‘at a great distance’ away to the N.E. was Mbenga. The “low level island...with a vast number of cocoa-nut “trees,” lying to the N. or N.N.W., was Vatulailai; and to this Bentley gave the name of ‘Cocoa-nut Island.’ The “high land in the north-east quarter, and at the back of “Cocoa-nut Island” was the south-western coast of the great Island of Viti Levu; and the high land and supposed islands next seen, when the “Ann and Hope” altered her course to the N.W., was the western extension of this great island, along which the ship ran till she reached, and passed along the chain of the Yasawa Islands, which fringe the whole of the N.E. coast of the main island. That was the last seen from the “Ann and Hope” of the Fijian Islands.

It should be noted that the Editor of the *Oriental Navigator*, in his final comment, uses the name 'hamsa' for the Samoan Islands, also that he obviously regarded the Samoan group, Vavau with the other Tongan islands, and the Fijian group as one whole, which he called 'the Friendly Islands' (see p. 9, n. 3 *post*). It should also be noted that not only did Captain Bligh "sail to the southward of this group in "1792," but that he had actually passed through the group and by the Yasawa Islands in 1789, when in the "Bounty's" launch; and that, as Krusenstern points out, the Yasawas had been visited by Captain Barber of the "Arthur" in 1794.

To sum up: Till quite the end of the 18th century the Fijian Islands were known only from the necessarily meagre reports of Tasman, who, in 1643, had passed through the maze of reefs and islets which fringe the eastern side of the group; of Captain Cook, who, in 1774, had sighted, and even had a boat's crew ashore Turtle Island (Vatoa) at the south-eastern extremity of the group; of Captain Bligh, who, in 1789, in the "Bounty's" launch, had passed in at the eastern side of the group, felt his way upward between the two great islands of Vanua Levu and Viti Levu, and had passed out by 'Round Island Passage,' and by the Yasawa Islands; perhaps of Christian and his fellow mutineers who, in the same year, probably visited one of the Lau group, in vain search for a safe refuge; of Mr Oliver, Master of the "Pan-dora's" tender, who, in 1791, found, and lay for five weeks at one of the Lau Islands—perhaps Matuku—of Captain Bligh again, who, in 1792, on the "Providence," the "Assistance" in company, from Vavau had entered at the eastern side, seen several of the Lau Islands, and then made his way out to sea by rounding Kandavu; of Captain Barber of the snow "Arthur," who, in 1794, approaching from the west had seen the Yasawa Islands, and had even landed either on one of these or on the mainland of Viti Levu; of Captain James Wilson of the "Duff," which, in 1797, from the Tongan group, had entered and passed up through the eastern fringe of the Feejees, much as Tasman had done; and lastly of Captain Christopher Bentley, of the "Ann and Hope,"

who, in 1799, had sighted Kandavu, the western side of Viti Levu, and the Yasawa Islands. But none of these had any lasting and effective communication with the natives of the islands which in most cases they only just saw. It was not till the first days of the 19th century that European influence began to take root in the islands, and at first feebly enough.

It can now hardly be doubted that the tradition of the native folk of Fiji, to the effect that the first white men to land and remain for any considerable time on any of their islands were the sailors of a ship which was wrecked 'long 'ago' on the reef which they call Mbukatatanoa, that is 'the 'yangona bowl carved in fire-wood,' is true.

Early in the last century some chart-maker—which was the first to do so seems uncertain—attached the name of the ship, the "Argo," to the reef in question, which is a widely extending and very dangerous coral atoll, the south-eastern outpost of the Fijian Islands, abutting on the wide channel which separates these from the Tongan Islands. Nothing, however, but the name of the ship, the place and the supposed date (1806) of the wreck seemed discoverable.

Commander Wilkes, writing in 1845, says¹, that on the 17th of May, 1840, one of his ships, the "Porpoise," Lt.-Commander Ringgold, was "engaged in exploring the great "Argo Reef. Its native name is Bocatatanoa, and it is one "of the most extensive and dangerous in the group. Its "English name is derived from the loss (on its south-east "end) of the English brig 'Argo,' which happened in the "year 1806." Later writers have almost invariably followed Wilkes. Our own Hydrographic Department states²: "The "second name of the reef is derived from the brig 'Argo' "which was lost in 1806 on its south-east end." The missionary Waterhouse, in his *King and People of Fiji*, p. 22, seems the only writer to give the correct date, namely, as will be shown, 1800.

Several vessels of the name "Argo" are mentioned in the early records of the settlement at Port Jackson, but the one

¹ U.S.A. *Exploring Expedition*, Vol. III, p. 170.

² *Pacific Islands Pilot*, Vol. II (Central Groups), 5th edition, p. 440.

with which we are here concerned is the one of which Collins, in his Account of New South Wales, records that

“on the 7th of July, 1798, a small American schooner, the ‘Argo,’ arrived at Port Jackson, last from the Isle of France, having on board a cargo of salt provisions, some French brandy, and other articles, upon speculation; all of which was brought to a good market. From the circumstance of this ship’s coming from the Mauritius, the Governor (Hunter) entertained some jealousy; and, as it was not impossible or improbable but that, under neutral colours, a spy might be concealed, he judged it necessary to put the battery on Point Mafkelyne into a more secure and respectable state, and to construct two redoubts in proper and convenient situations¹.”

Not the Governor only but the settlers also were perturbed by the arrival of the “Argo.” Collins writes of the danger to the settlers and others, and to the young colony generally, of the ready sale which the speculators who called here constantly found for their cargoes².

The settlers themselves, in an appeal to the Secretary of State, dated 9th of January, 1800, in which they complain of “the iniquity and extortion” to which they were subjected, in that “when ships arrive at Port Jackson, the cargoes are bought up by a few individuals who, in order to engross the whole, will give an extravagant price,” and, “seldom, if ever, dispose of the same at less than 100 per cent. on the purchase money, whatever that may be, and frequently at 200 per cent.”; and, as one example, say that “the cargo of the ‘Argo,’ an American vessel, consisted chiefly of rum and gin. The rum bought at 9s. p’r gallon, afterwards sold at 20s. to 80s. p’r gallon; the gin, in cases of 9½ gallons, ‘bought for £5, afterwards sold from £15 to £20 st’g p’r case³.’”

The “Argo,” having disposed of her cargo, left for China on the 7th of October, 1798, the last occasion on which she is mentioned by Collins, or in any other shipping list⁴.

It may here be noted that the transport ship “Barwell,” of which John Turnbull, afterwards the author of *A Voyage Round the World, in the years 1800-1804*, was at the time

¹ Collins, Vol. II (1802), pp. 119, 120 and 318.

² *Ibid.* p. 120.

³ H.R., A., Ser. I, Vol. II, pp. 442-3.

⁴ Collins, Vol. II, p. 131.

2nd officer, had arrived at Port Jackson, with convicts, on the 18th of May, 1798¹, and that she dropped down the harbour on September the 12th, and sailed for China on the 17th of the same month². It was almost certainly on this occasion, while the two ships were lying together at Port Jackson, that Turnbull, as he afterwards claimed, made the acquaintance of the Captain of the "Argo" and his vessel³; though it is quite possible that the acquaintance was renewed either at Canton or on the way thither.

The later issues of Arrowsmith's *Chart of the Pacific* in nine sheets—certainly that published in 1832 (and probably some of the earlier issues)—give the track of the "Barwell" from Port Jackson to China in 1798; the ship ran, by what was then an unusual, if not unprecedented, course, first north-eastward, and then passed upward between the Tongan and the Fijian groups, but keeping well to the east of the Mbukatatanoa reef (afterwards the 'Argo reef'). The "Barwell" and the "Argo" having been together at Port Jackson, and having left nearly at the same time for China, it is not unreasonable to assume that they followed the same course. If the "Argo" tried to return from China to Port Jackson by the same route, but got too far to the west, that is through the passage between the Tongan and Fijian Islands, her wreck on Mbukatatanoa reef (almost certainly in January 1800) is explained.

No actual reference to the arrival of the "Argo" at Canton has been found. But Captain Richard Cleveland, a very noteworthy merchant sailor of New England, who reached Canton in September 1799, from a successful fur-trading expedition on the North West Coast, having after his arrival satisfactorily disposed of his furs ("at the rate of twenty-three "dollars a skin, cash"), next disposed of his ship to "Robert "Berry Esq.,," and also arranged with Berry "to ship to his "friends in the United States, as opportunities for freighting "occurred, the remainder of the proceeds of his cargo of furs⁴."

¹ Collins, Vol. II, p. 318.

² *Ibid.* p. 125.

³ Turnbull's *Voyage*, 2nd ed. (1813), p. 390.

⁴ Cleveland's *Narrative of Voyages*, p. 26.

This must have been the owner of the "Argo" referred to by Turnbull, and possibly either himself the Captain of that ship or a relative of the Berry who was Captain. Possibly the remainder of the proceeds of Cleveland's cargo of furs was shipped by the "Argo" on her last voyage, and was lost at Mbukatatanoa reef.

The only contemporary references made by Europeans to the actual circumstances of the wreck of the "Argo" seem to be two; that by Turnbull, after his return to England, in the 1805 edition of his *Voyage Round the World*¹, and that given in the *Sydney Gazette* (see p. 186 *post*).

While in China as 2nd officer of the "Barwell," Turnbull had learned that the Americans were doing a lucrative business on the North-West American Coast; and after his return to England he arranged with certain merchants to fit out a vessel to those parts. He left Portsmouth in July 1800 in the "Margaret," of which John Buyers, formally 1st officer of the "Barwell," was Captain, and reached Sydney Cove on the 5th of January, 1801². But the season for the North-West trade being far advanced, Captain Buyers left in March 1801 for that speculation, Turnbull himself remaining for a time at Port Jackson, to dispose of the cargo of the "Margaret." But, there being at the time no money in circulation at Port Jackson, he took passage in the whaler "Harriet," Captain Samuel Chase, which left Port Jackson on the 25th of August, 1801, for Norfolk Island, where money was said to be plentiful and goods scarce³.

It was during this voyage that Turnbull first heard of the wreck of the "Argo," from the Captain of the "Harriet"⁴.

Turnbull writes:

"In conversation with the gentleman with whom I went passenger to Norfolk Island, upon the subject of the inhabitants of these islands, he chanced to mention the shipwreck of the 'Argo' from China, with a cargo to Norfolk Island and Port Jackson. As I was acquainted both with the captain and the vessel, I felt some interest to learn something more of this

¹ Turnbull's *Voyage*, 2nd ed. (1813), pp. 390-2.

² *Ibid.* pp. 1-2, 72, 74.

³ *Ibid.* p. 102.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 390.

“disaster, and how and where he had met with them. I had “before suspected that some accident had happened, as she ought “to have arrived at least a twelvemonth before. He informed me “that the only surviving man of the whole crew was then on “board the same ship with ourselves; and that he had at first “taken him on board very unwillingly, suspecting that he was an “impostor or fugitive seaman. But the poor fellow at length “convinced him of the truth of his story; the particulars of which “were as follows. They had sailed with a cargo from China, had “met with adverse buffeting winds, which had thrown them very “far from their course. I think it is no improbable conjecture “to suppose, that as the captain had been so long at sea, it was “his intention to touch at some of these islands. The ignorance “of the sailor is no objection to this supposition, as commanders “do not always inform their men of their intention. The sailor “proceeding in his narrative added, that the ship one night struck “upon a reef of rocks to the north-west of these islands, and “shortly became a total wreck. After the accident the natives “plundered and destroyed everything they could seize, and their “plunder continued as long as any spoil remained for its object. “The captain and crew landed at Tongataboo; one of those wars “was at this time raging in the island, which, from the ferocity “with which it was conducted, must sooner or later exterminate “the people. If this man’s story is to be credited, the captain and “the greater part of the crew fell the victims of this contest. This “however did not happen immediately on their landing; the “captain continued some time amongst them, and previously to “his death was wandering over the island naked and desolate as “a native. His late loss and present situation had almost deprived “him of his senses, and rendered him, according to the poor “fellow’s description, a truly pitiable object. He said that the “death of the captain, and the greater part of the crew, was “caused by their being discovered in an attempt to escape from “the island, but that some of them had been surprised and “overwhelmed by the adverse party. The fellow himself had “effected his escape in a canoe from which he had been taken “by the captain of our vessel.”

The *Sydney Gazette* of the 4th of November, 1804 (see p. 186 *post*), reports, with reference to one Doyle, who was supposed to have been another survivor from the “Argo,” that “the brig had sailed from Canton for this Colony and “belonged to Mr Berry of Canton”; that it “was unfortunately

"wrecked on some of the islands, between three and four years "since," and that its "people were distributed, and the major "part of them afterwards inhumanly murdered by the natives." The *Gazette* adds that another survivor from the "Argo," named Slater, "had the good fortune to be brought away by "Captain Read, in the ship 'Plomer,' after a residence among "the savages of two and twenty months."

The chief apparent difference between Turnbull's story and that from the *Sydney Gazette* is that in the first named it is indicated that the sole survivor from the wreck of the "Argo" was picked up—as a sailor in distress—by Captain Samuel Chase of the "Harriet," whereas the *Gazette* definitely states that "one of the surviving hands" from the ship in question was picked up by Captain Reid of the "El "Plumier." But the apparent discrepancy is not real; for it may now safely be assumed that there was at least more than one survivor, and that the man rescued by the "Harriet," whoever he may have been was not Oliver Slater, who got away on the "El Plumier," to Manilla, and eventually became one of the two originators of the sandalwood trade.

After the "Argo," the next vessel to visit the Fijian Islands was the "El Plumier," a Spanish ship,

"a prize to three whalers which had captured her near Cape "Corrientes on the Coast of Peru. Her cargo, when she first "arrived at Port Jackson, on the 2nd of December, 1799, con- "sisted chiefly of bad spirits and wine—which were removed into "the 'Supply'; and the 'Plumier' was condemned by the Ad- "miralty Court as a lawful prize¹."

The "Betsy," Captain Clark, with the prize in company, had called at Tongatabu, at the moment when the London Missionary Society's surviving representatives, who had been landed there by the "Duff" in 1797, were in extreme peril, owing to the hostility of the natives and, more especially, of the 'beachcombers' who had acquired great influence among the natives. Here the "Betsy" remained for a while², in

¹ Collins's *Account*, Vol. II, p. 318.

² *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895*, Vol. I, p. 173.

order to bring off the missionaries, except the renegade Vason¹, while the "El Plumier," piloted by missionary Harris, went on to Port Jackson.

The "El Plumier," or "Ploomer" or even "Plumo" as she was often called, after her condemnation, was bought by Thomas Fyshe Palmer, one of the 'Scottish Martyrs,' who had been transported for alleged political offence but had by then served his time. Palmer was joined in this purchase by his friend James Ellis, by a Mr Boston, and by William Reid, who had reached Port Jackson in the "Sirius," had then been Captain of the "Martha," and now undertook the command of the "El Plumier." 'Reid & Co.,' as the purchasers called themselves, proposed to sail to New Zealand, there to pick up a cargo of timber, then to the Cape of Good Hope, where they intended to dispose of the timber, and thence to England.

Being a condemned prize, the ship had no proper papers, but proceeded 'by Governor's certificate'². She cleared from Port Jackson, in ballast, as from the 5th of January, 1801, but did not actually get away till the 20th of that month. She made in the first instance for the Thames River, New Zealand, where she arrived on the 3rd of March (see p. 179 *post*).

A few weeks later, the "Plumo" was found by the "Royal "Admiral" in the River Thames, in trouble, owing to a serious accident the ship had sustained in coming into the river, by being driven on a sand-bank, and thereby breaking eight of her larboard timbers; which rendered it necessary that all hands should be employed for a long time to repair damages³.

The "El Plumier" was detained in New Zealand for twenty-six weeks, during which time the whole of her stores were expended, provisions for six months only having been taken on board at Port Jackson (see pp. 117-9 *post*). It seems then to have been decided to make for Macao, the ship

¹ *Narrative of the late George Vason*. Ed. by the Rev. James Orange, p. 43.

² H.R., N.S.W. iv, 471.

³ William Smith's *Journal of a Voyage in the Missionary Ship "Duff"* in 1796-1802, p. 229.

not being in a condition to undertake the voyage to the Cape. She sailed for Tongatabu on the 20th of August; but, failing to get provisions there, she drifted on to the Fiji Islands, calling first at one of the eastern or Lau Islands, next at Koro, and then at Mbua Bay, or as it was a few years afterwards called by Europeans Sandalwood Bay. She was almost certainly the first European ship to reach Mbua.

When going in to Mbua, the unfortunate ship got upon a reef at the mouth of the bay, whereby she was further seriously damaged, a part of her after-keep being knocked off, and her rudder unhung, so that she could not leave the place till bulk-heads had been erected in the after hold, and tightened with clay, in order to cut off the fractured part (see p. 179 *post*).

It was almost certainly at Mbua, at this time, that Oliver Slater, twenty-one months after the wreck of the "Argo," was met with and taken on board the "El Plumier."

The ship, seriously crippled, and with a mutinous crew, next made for Macao, but in so great distress that she had to put in to Guam, where, to the great mortification of all on board, the ship was made a prize, and her crew detained as prisoners.

The following passage (quoted by R. D. Paine) from a manuscript journal, kept by William Haswell, 1st mate of the American ship "Lydia," which, on the 5th of January, 1802, was the first vessel that ever flew the American flag in the harbour of Guam, tells the end of the "El Plumier." On the 7th of January, Haswell wrote:

"We saw a ship heaving in sight and not able to find the passage over the reef. I took a small boat and went out and found her to be an English ship in distress. I piloted them in and brought them to anchorage near the Hill Forts in thirty fathoms of water¹."

After hearing from those on board the "El Plumier" their story up to the time that the ship reached Mbua, exactly as it has here been told, Haswell continues:

"they (the crew of the 'El Plumier') got her off and stopt the leak on the inside with clay as well as they could. Their men

¹ Paine's *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*, 2nd ed. (1912), p. 278.

"then mutinied and insisted on carrying the ship to Macao, but "not being able to reach that place, they put in for provisions, "thinking the Spaniards would let them go out again. But their "ship was so bad that they never left this place. They could "not get at the leak any other way than by healing the keel out "and that was a work of time. I sent them some salt beef and "pork on board and took an officer and fifty Indians and a bower "anchor and cable with me to get her up the harbour which we "were some time about, but plenty of men made light work, "and I warped her up abreast of the 'Lydia,' and there moored "her. Next day eight of the English ship's men took a boat and "went to town to the Governor to enquire how much he would "give them to carry the ship to Manila, but he ordered them to "be put in irons for mutiny."

Haswell, after telling that the "Lydia" was so bountifully supplied, all at the King's expense, with fresh provisions, beef, pork, fowls, that three-quarters of it was given away to the English ship, which had nothing allowed it but jerked beef and rice, adds that

"about this time Captain Barnard came on board and went, "accompanied by (Haswell) himself and the second officer, to "make a survey of the hull of the English ship, her hull, rigging, "sails, etc., and found her not fit to perform a passage without "some new sails, a new cable and a great deal of new rigging, and "a new boat, as hers were lost. The leak we thought could be "reduced on the inside, but all the seams were very open and "required caulking. A report of our opinions being drawn out, "I was sent to town with it. The Governor hinted that it was "impossible to get what was required, but yet wished to send "the ship to Manila. The poor owners hung their heads in "expectancy of the condemnation of the ship."

The death of Thomas Fyshe Palmer at Guam, after the seizure of the "El Plumier," and something of the fate of the other owners, and passengers, on that ship, is recorded in both the *Monthly Magazine* and the *Sydney Gazette* (see pp. 178-9 *post*).

As to the crew, with which was Oliver Slater, nothing is recorded, except that they were in a state of mutiny, and, on that pretext, had been imprisoned by the Spanish Governor of Guam. But there can be no doubt that Slater in some way

reached Manila, he revealed to a Captain Farrell the abundance of sandalwood growing at Mbua.

By a stroke of rare good fortune, some of the impressions made on the natives by the coming of the "Argo" and the "El Plumier" may still be gathered from fragments of their *mekes*—traditional songs generally associated with dramatic action—in which, owing to the fact that each ship introduced a new, portentous, and devastating disease, have been preserved the ideas of the Fijian folk whose astonished eyes actually saw the coming of the two vessels.

One such fragment was printed in the issue for October, 1893, of the vernacular newspaper *Namata*, which is provided by the Government for the information of the Fijians. The translation which follows is by Captain Kenneth Allardyce, late Native Commissioner. It obviously refers to the "Argo," and was told by a woman named Lavenia, who was the sole living representative of the village of Vatutuva, which, as mentioned by Commander Wilkes, formerly stood on the north-east side of the island of Oneata, lying over against the south-eastern extension of Mbukatatanoa reef.

Lavenia is reported to have said:

"On waking one morning and looking toward the islet of Loa¹, "situated about a mile to the eastward of Vatutuva, they say it "was covered with flags, clothes and blankets. This sight on "Loa caused great astonishment. They thought that the actions "of the white men on the top of the islet denoted the presence "of a god. Two Levuka men were sent to see what it was. They "launched a canoe and sculled towards the place, and saw what "appeared to be men, but they thought they must be gods, as "they were biting live fire and had their ears wrapped up. This "was because they had never before seen pipes smoked nor the "red caps the men were wearing.

"It was reported by the two messengers that the vessel was a

¹ Loa islet, the Observatory Island of Wilkes, 140 feet high, lies rather less than two-thirds of a mile from the N.E. point of Oneata Island and is within the same reef. The N.E. point of Loa is at no great distance from Mbukatatanoa. It is readily conceivable the white men had reached Loa in one of the ship's boats during the night from the actual site of the wreck.

"man-of-war, and then a double canoe called the Taivalata set off for Loa and brought all the people ashore.

"Now only one of them was buried there and the cause of his death is not clear. He may have been killed or he may have died of the *lila* (wasting sickness). After they had been taken to Mbau by the Levuka people, the Oneata people were affected with the *lila*. The hair of those attacked dropped off and they suffered from diarrhoea. No medicine was of any use. Some of the people from the ship died ashore, and it is said that the Levuka people killed them. I do not know whether they were eaten or buried. No Fijian medecine was of any use, and some of the sick were strangled¹ as they had been sick for a long time and had become offensive, and some were buried before they died. When the Levuka people arrived at Mbau they took the white men's property as an offering to the chiefs at Mbau.

"The Mbau chiefs first learned the use of fire-arms from the people of the ship who explained to them the use of gunpowder and also how to shoot. Some old men of Oneata hid some casks of gunpowder, to use as black paint for their bodies, and some ramrods to use as scratchers for their heads. The Mbauans first learnt the use of tobacco from these foreigners."

The traditional song as to the coming of the second ship may here be sufficiently represented by two fragments, in vernacular, which were given some ten or a dozen years ago to Dr T. R. St Johnston, then Medical Officer of the Lau Islands, respectively by Seru, widow of the late Mbuli Savenatha of Moala, and by Nemanu Ndausinga. The translations here given are by Mr Glanvill Corney in both cases.

Seru's fragment is as follows :

"At dawn, at dawn, a foreigner appeared again,
Anchored she lies off Nukuthangina²,
They of Nawarowaro run towards her,
Board a canoe and go off to her.
We two (*i.e.* the ship and the canoe) traffic while the sun is up.
You snatch the magic frame (*i.e.* trade mirror)
And hold it in hand before your eyes to look into.

¹ With reference to this custom of strangling the sick, see p. cix *post*.

² *Nukuthangina* means literally "the place of blown sands," and suggests that the ship was anchored off a sandy shore, such as that on the south-east side of Oneata Island, though not often found elsewhere in these reef-girt islands. The word *warowaro* means 'peaked' and seems here to be used as the name of some village off which the ship lay.

'Tis true, the sickness that is reported,
 The people are wasted by it on all sides,
 The men are wrecks, and bent,
 They droop like the *dainga*¹,
 They go down to *nai thimbathimba*²;
 Oh, alas, alas!

"When it is full daylight (or, When the weather has cleared)
 The foreigner sails right away,
 And they pass into empty space.
 Then speaks their chief:
 A look-out man climbs aloft,
 To be quite sure how the ship must steer.
 Nairai lies right ahead,
 Koro is away to leeward,
 And the ship is sailing down the wind towards Vuya³.
 The foreigner is a wide-awake-person,
 And takes care to follow the open channel
 Oh, alas ! alas !"

Nemani Ndausinga's version differs chiefly in the interpolation after the fourth line of a passage telling that the trading intercourse between the people of the ship and the natives was for a time interrupted by an attack from the ship on the land. The incident is told as follows:

"She is a trading vessel that has come,
 And (they) are looking this way at the land.
 The guns are aimed, Sir-e !
 To shoot earthly people :
 They fire Sir, until darkness covers the land-e
 And Nukurembua is shaken by an earthquake;
 They go off to finish at Mburoto and Vuya,
 Alas ! alas !"

¹ *Dainga* is *Amorphophallus campanulatus* (see Seemann, *Flora Vitiensis*, p. 273), an arum, the uncannily fleshy flower of which, when quite mature, melts away rather than fades, meanwhile emitting a most offensive smell. The use here made of the *dainga*: to figure the strange and abnormal deaths of the plague-stricken natives is as apt and picturesque as could be given in any language.

² *Nai thimbathimba*, or, as others have it, *Naithombothombo*, is "the place of departed spirits."

³ Vuya is here used for Mbua (see p. 97, note 1 *post*).

A much longer, but yet avowedly fragmentary, version of this *meke*—which must have been of portentous length—was contributed by one Ilai Motonithothoka, who was Native Magistrate of Mbau in 1893, to that little-worked mine of Fijian folk-lore, the “Report of the Commission appointed “to inquire into the Decrease of Native Population (of Fiji).”

Ilai evidently refers to two ships which, with no great interval of time between them, were the first European vessels to open intercourse with the natives of some of the Fijian Islands; and in his own mind he distinguishes these by the circumstance that, both introducing new and terrible diseases into the islands at which they touched, the disease brought by the ship which came first was the *lila mbalavu* or ‘wasting sickness,’ that brought by the second was the *thokandra* or ‘dysentery.’ He also gives some other clues which help to determine the date of the coming of these ships.

“Only two things (he wrote) are known about the year in which “the *lila mbalavu* attacked our ancestors; it was the year in which “the first European ship came; and it was the year in which the “comet with three tails appeared. Our ancestors knew that the *lila mbalavu* attacked them at the time they saw the first European ship. “This was the first ship they saw, but a number of others came later.”

Again he writes:

“Now some time after the *lila*, the Great Sickness, another “great visitation of sickness—a bloody flux—attacked our an-“cestors of the old time....It is said that a European vessel, sailing “from the direction of Lau brought the dysentery; and the places “at which the vessel called are known from the *meke* which I “give...; from this you may know at what islands the vessel that “brought the dysentery touched.”

Ilai says that the ship came “from the direction of Lau”; which the “El Plumier” must certainly have done, as it is known from other sources that she approached the Fijian Islands from Tongatabu. All the variants agree that this second ship anchored at Nukuthangina—the Place of Blown Sands—and that she sailed thence between Nairai and Koro towards Vuya (the south-eastern point of ‘Sandalwood ‘Island.’) Ilai adds that on approaching Vuya she nearly ran on a coral reef but was held off in time; that she then

“turned towards the Tongan Ocean” (which merely seems to mean that she turned eastward), till she just sighted Lauthala—at the eastern end of Taveuni—passed through the Makongai passage, then sighted Naithombothombo point, and reached the village of Mbua.

In other words, it was a ship in distress—it can hardly have been anything but the “*El Plumier*”—drifting about, partly in the hope of picking up provisions from the natives, and also to find a convenient spot at which to repair her damaged hulk, and partly to find a way out from the maze of unknown islands in which she had become entangled.

Sir Basil Thomson has put on record that he heard from the people of the Island of Moala that the crew of this dysentery-carrying ship mutinied at Mbua, and left there one of her crew, known to the Fijians as Theodore, when the ship sailed for Manilla. This, also, agrees with what is known about the “*El Plumier*” from other sources¹.

A further point as to the exact date of the wreck of the “*Argo*,” and the coincident introduction into the islands of a devastating disease, remains to be noticed, namely the date of the appearance of the comet which is asserted to have been seen at this particular time. Professor H. H. Turner of Oxford, having been supplied with all the available circumstances of the story, picked out the second of the two comets which were seen in 1799 as appearing the most likely to be the one in question; but he suggested further reference to Dr Andrew Crommelin of the Royal Greenwich Observatory.

After very kindly giving the matter full consideration, Dr Crommelin has given the opinion that, as far as records available in Europe show, the comet first seen, in Europe, on the 26th of December, 1779, coincides with the data which had been supplied. This

“second comet of 1799 (he writes) was found on December 26; “it was seen only for ten days by Europeans; but it ran south, “and would have been well placed for the Fijians for a longer

¹ This Theodore is said to have survived for many years, and to have died in Fiji as lately as about 1870.

"period, and it may well have become brighter when it went
"south....If the Fiji comet was not the second one of 1799, then
"it is a comet that is not on our catalogues."

In a note appended to the letter from which the preceding is extracted, the writer adds that

"The fact that comet 1799 II drew much closer to the earth
"after being lost to view in Europe makes an increase of lightness
"quite reasonable. If this is the right comet, the 37 days (during
"which the Fijians say that the comet was visible to them—
"though it was visible in Europe for only ten days) would be
"reckoned, say, from Christmas 1799 to the end of January 1800."

The date thus assigned accords closely with two incidents which have been recorded. The "El Plumier" left Port Jackson in January 1800 but did not reach Guam till January 1802. In the meantime, she had been detained for twenty-six weeks in New Zealand, was next for a time at Tongatabu, then, in dire need of provisions and of an opportunity to repair her much damaged hulk, drifted about in the Fijian Islands, till—this must have been towards the end of 1801—she reached Mbua (Sandalwood Bay), where she remained sufficiently long to effect the most necessary repairs. Here, too, she picked up Oliver Slater, a survivor from the wreck of the "Argo"—"after a residence¹ among the savages of two "and twenty months," that is, since quite the beginning of 1800.

Turnbull, we now know, was mistaken in supposing that the sailor he met with was the only survivor from the "Argo"; but from a comparison of dates, his statement that he had (before the end of 1801) suspected that some accident had happened, as the ship ought to have arrived at least a twelvemonth before, supports the suggestion that the wreck was in the beginning of 1800.

Even the fact that the date has been given as 1806 by almost all the authorities (see p. xxxii *ante*) (apparently Arrowsmith was the first to do this—on his 1814 Special Chart of the Feejee Islands) helps to confirm the theory that the "Argo" was wrecked in 1800—on the reasonable assumption

¹ See p. 186 *post*.

that, as so often happens, a 6 was accidentally substituted for a badly written nought—1806 for 1800.

On the 28th of May 1804, Captain J. Farrell, with his ship the "Fair American," reached Port Jackson from Manilla, with a cargo of general merchandise. With Farrell came Oliver Slater, last heard of as having been picked up by the "El Plumier," who, no doubt, was intended to serve as guide and as intermediary with his old Fijian acquaintances. But at Port Jackson, the news of the existence of sandalwood in Fiji having been spread, Slater left the "Fair American," and threw in his lot with one James Aikin, who, at a loose end, was looking out for a job on which to employ the twenty-six ton schooner "Marcia," formerly the "Cato's" launch, but which had been "rose "upon at Sydney, and had latterly been employed in Bass's "Straits, and the Hawkesbury and Coal Rivers¹."

Whether other of the crew of the "Fair American" deserted at Port Jackson, or whether reports there current induced a wish to strengthen the crew of that vessel, Captain Farrell tried to get additional hands through the agency of the Captain of another American owned vessel then lying at Port Jackson. Captain Isaac Pendleton of the "Union," one of the foremost American trading Captains of the time, after a successful sealing cruise on the southern coast of New Holland, was then at Port Jackson, during the off-season for seals. Pendleton, who had already determined

"to start in search of islands placed on some ancient charts, and "said to have been discovered by Tasman, with other early "navigators; thus improving the time till the sealing season should "return...was induced by a Mr Lord, merchant at Sydney, to "discharge those skins already on board, amounting to 14,000, "collected at Border's Island, and place them under the care of, "and in the said Lord's store. An agreement was entered into "between them by which the brig (the Union) was to proceed on "joint account to the Feejee Islands, to procure a cargo of sandal- "wood for the Canton market, the merchant finding the requisite "means for trading, by which the wood was to be purchased²."

¹ H.R., N.S.W. Vol. v, 311.

² Fanning's *Voyages Round the World*, pp. 318-9.

This being so, Captain Farrell arranged with Captain Pendleton that the Union should call at Norfolk Island, and there ship several additional hands for the "Fair American," which ship she was to meet at sea.

Clearing from Port Jackson 'for China' on the 29th of August 1804¹, the "Union," after recruiting at Norfolk Island, next called at Tongatabu, as the anchorage, itself barely known, from which the still less known Fiji Islands might be reached. Here, however, the ship met with very serious misfortune, at the hands of the natives but largely instigated by the alien 'beachcombers' who had made their homes among them. The mischief was especially due to some of the survivors from the American ship "Duke of Portland," Captain Lovat Mellon, which, on or about the 1st of June, 1802, had been itself seized by the natives, at the instigation of one Doyle, believed to have been a survivor from the "Argo."

The morning after the "Union" arrived, at the urgent request of the natives, "among whom was a Malay that spoke 'broken English,'" one of the ship's boats went ashore, manned by six armed men, in which boat the Captain and Mr Boston, the super-cargo, went. After the boat had gone ashore, the natives on and about the ship became yet more troublesome, and were eventually turned off by the mate, Daniel Wright. About four hours later, the mate, through his spy-glass, saw the ship's boat lying broadside on in the hands of the natives. The ship was then put in such order for defence as was possible; but no natives came off till the next morning, when two canoes came in hail, the natives in which made offensive gestures which were understood by those on the ship to mean that the boat's crew had been murdered. The following day the natives returned with the Malay and with a European woman, Elizabeth Morey, who spoke to them in English, as did also the Malay, inviting them to go on shore; but the white woman made signs for them not to do so.

The next morning, the third, several canoes again came off, from one of which the Malay again urged the mate to

¹ H.R., N.S.W. v, 534.

go ashore, while the white woman stood up at the head of another of the canoes, crying out that those on shore were murdered by the natives, and then, leaping into the water, sprang towards the ship, the men on board presenting their muskets and thereby deterring the natives from picking her up. The woman, being taken on board the "Union," said that the captain and the boat's crew had been murdered; upon which information the mate Wright ordered the natives to be fired upon, and then at once directed the cables to be cut, put out to sea, and reached Port Jackson in nineteen days without further incident—*i.e.* on the 23rd of October, 1804¹.

The "Fair American," which had been at Port Jackson, since the 28th of May, and the "Union," Daniel Wright being now in command, dropped down the river on the 11th, and sailed on the 19th of November, both being nominally "in ballast for China"². That the "Fair American" reached Fiji and there secured sandalwood is clear from Aikin's memorial (see p. 1 *post*), and also from a note in the *Sydney Gazette* of the 15th of May, 1808 (see p. 192 *post*), it is evident that Captain Farrell got back to Manilla, and that he at least contemplated a second expedition to Fiji. As to the "Union," the only news of her after she left Port Jackson for the second time is the report brought by Captain Aikin of the "Marcia" that she had been totally wrecked on Koro Island (see p. 190 *post*).

Meanwhile Aikin and Oliver Slater had not been idle. On the 30th of September, 1804, two months before the "Fair American" got away, they sailed in the "Marcia" "for the "reefs and west side of New Caledonia, in quest of Trepang "or Beche de Mer"; and they got back to Sydney Cove from this expedition on the 27th of April, 1805.

On the 13th of May, two or three weeks after his return, Aikin addressed a memorial to Governor King in which he stated the position, especially his own position, as to the proposed Fiji sandalwood trade³. Aikin, after explaining that he had reached the colony eleven years previously, as master mate of H.M.S. "Supply," and had subsequently been for six years in command of the Colonial schooner "Francis,"

¹ See p. 181 *post*.

² See p. 189 *post*.

³ H.R., N.S.W. v, 620-2.

from which command the Governor had been "pleased to supersede him," continues as follows:

"That memorialist then saw himself, with an increasing family, "destitute of subsistence in a country remote from home, and "availed himself of an offer made him to engage in a speculative "voyage in a small schooner to Wreck Reef to procure beechley "mar, &c., from whence, after having been exposed to extreme "hazard and imminent danger, memorialist returned unsuccesful and disappointed.

"That memorialist was thereupon induced to engage in another "expedition in the same employ¹, and sailed from this port in "the schooner Marcia the latter end of September last in order "to discover and procure in certain islands that sort of sandal- "wood which is reputed to be in high requisition at the China "market. Memorialist had also 'beechley mar' and other objects in "view likely to turn out to the advantage of himself and his owners.

"That memorialist, after a long, hazardous, and fatiguing "voyage, exposed not only to dangerous reefs and rocks, but also "to the risque of holding uncertain intercourse with natives, was "at length so fortunate as to discover one of the principal objects "of his pursuit, and made such arrangements and provisions with "the natives to obtain and secure the articles he was in quest of, "by barter and otherwise, that it was only necessary for him to "repair there again with all possible celerity to crown his expec- "tations with success.

"That this celerity was all the more necessary, inasmuch as "the ship Fair American had been let into some of the advan- "tages of memorialist's discoveries, and had proceeded forward "to China with a cargo of the articles, from whence, so soon as "information should transpire of the situation of the islands where "so valuable a commodity was to be procured, there is no doubt "but vessels would be dispatched thither, and other persons, "indifferent and unconnected, would reap the fruits of me- "morialists labour and exertions, which would bear peculiarly "hard upon memorialist and his owners, who have embarked so "deeply in this undertaking, and who have reason to fear they "shall suffer considerably (to an amount of upwards of £3,000) "by the reputed loss of the ship Union, employed in a similar "expedition.

"That memorialist's owners have used every means in their "power to purchase a ship or vessel for memorialist to repair to "the islands in question to reap the fruits of his discoveries, and

¹ Kable and Co.

“at last entered into a contract with the master of the ship “Harrington to proceed thither; but this contract (tho’ embracing “concerns to the amount of several thousand pounds) some subsequent circumstances unexpectedly prevented being carried into “effect. Memorialist’s owners then endeavoured to purchase the “Sophia for this express purpose, or to freight or charter her in “the concern, but were unsuccessful.

“Thus deprived of the power of obtaining any conveyance to “the islands where his interest so immediately centred, memorialist applied to the commander of the American ship “Criterion to receive him as a passenger to China (touching on “his way thither at the islands in question), which was agreed to, “and memorialist made the customary application for his name “to be announced in the *Sydney Gazette* as intending to take his “departure from the colony.

“Your Excellency, however, was pleased to refuse memorialist “permission to depart, and your acting-secretary referred him to “the Orders of 11th August, 1804¹.

“And memorialist here submits that the circumstances of “persons coming free to this colony do not virtually apply to the “local restrictions of prisoners, and that memorialist, having no “debts or incumbrances to detain him, is at liberty to take his “departure in any ship wherein he can, by friendship or through “interest, obtain a passage, and particularly when that ship is “bound to a port in His Majesty’s dominions; nor, memorialist “presumes, does the circumstance of a person becoming a passenger in an American ship bear any reference to treaties or “contracts of commerce, to which memorialist supposes the “Order of 11th August is calculated to apply.

“In the present case the memorialist has unreservedly communicated to the commander of the Criterion such information “of the situation of the island as will leave him liberty to proceed “thither, and avail himself of memorialist’s discoveries, to the “obvious injury of himself and his owners.

“Whereupon, taking into consideration the circumstances under “which memorialist respectfully makes this remonstrance to your “Excellency, memorialist humbly hopes that the serious and important object he has at stake, in which the present interests of “himself, his family, and his owners, are so immediately involved, “will induce your Excellency to remove any obstacles to your “memorialist’s departure, and to permit him to proceed in the “American ship Criterion, to China.”

¹ See p. 180 *post.*

The Acting Secretary Blaxcell answered promptly on the back of the memorial to the effect that "His Excellency will "not allow of any British subject under this Government "embarking from hence on any American ship, whether on "commerical speculation or otherwise," but that Aikin, in accordance with a request he had previously made, had been "advertised to go to England in the 'Harriet'." Blaxcell had previously stated that "Oliver Slater being an American sub-
"ject had the Governor's permission to go by the 'Criterion'."

Moreover, Governor King had already, in a despatch dated 30th April¹, sent to Earl Camden his views as to Aikin's adventure on the "Marcia." He had stated, King wrote in this despatch,

"the circumstances of a small vessel belonging to an individual "being sent in quest of the Beche-de-Mer. That vessel is re-
"turned, and altho' they failed in that object, yet they acquired "another of not less value, namely, Sandal Wood, which is of "such great request with the natives of India and China. It has "long been known, from the intercourse with the Friendly Islands, "that Sandal Wood was a production of some of the Feejee Islands, "which are a group hitherto not much known. The proprietor "of this vessel was induced to make the trial from the information "of a person who professed a knowledge of the place where it "was to be obtained, but who, unfortunately with several others, "were cut off at Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands. After "going to several of the Feejee's, and finding much difficulty "and not a little apprehension for the safety of their small vessel "from the Natives' attack, they accomplished their object by pro-
"curing fifteen tons of Sandal Wood in exchange for pieces of "iron at a place called by the Natives Vooie. Whether it is "plentiful or not is doubtful, as the people belonging to the "vessel could not land, and that carried on board by the Natives "was in small quantities, however, should it prove abundant and "become more easy to obtain, it may hereafter be an advantageous "object of commerce with China."

Aikin, having thus been refused permission to leave by the "Criterion," and baulked in his alternative scheme of revisiting Fiji on the "Harrington," which vessel was at the moment detained at Port Jackson on a very grave charge of

¹ H.R., A., Ser. 1, Vol. iv, pp. 322-3.

piracy, cunningly effected his purpose in yet another way. The American ship "Criterion" of Nantucket, Captain Peter Chase, had entered at Port Jackson on the 24th of April¹, from the Crozet Islands, with a cargo of seal-skins, and left again on the 27th of May, avowedly for further sealing, but taking her seal-skins with her. The "Harriet," British whaler, Captain Thaddeus Coffin, which had entered on the 25th of April, "from the coast," with 1160 barrels of sperm oil, left the same day as the "Criterion," but for England, round Cape Horn². Aikin left by the "Harriet"—Governor King having carefully taken bonds from Captain Coffin against allowing him and such of his associates as were British subjects from transferring to the "Criterion," "or other 'foreign vessel on this side of Cape Horn³." Notwithstanding this, Aikin and his associates, Oliver Slater, and one James Bailey, were transferred from the "Harriet" to the "Criterion," at sea, four days after the two ships had cleared from Port Jackson.

Aikin thus reached 'Sandalwood Island' for the second time, on the "Criterion," and there a cargo of sandalwood was procured and carried to Canton.

The "Criterion," with Aikin still on board, boldly returned to Port Jackson on the 26th of May, 1806, but was not well received. As penalty for Captain Chase's collusion with Aikin, no part of the ship's cargo was allowed to be landed; "and," Governor King wrote to Lord Castlereagh on 30th of June⁴, "to the credit of the Generality of the 'Inhabitants they could not be prevailed on by the interested 'to Petition for a pound of Tea or other China produce to 'be landed from that Vessel, Altho' it is exceedingly scarce 'and not to be got." On the 29th of July the "Criterion" sailed back for her home port of Nantucket⁵; and their is no record of this ship ever again having meddled with the sandalwood trade to Fiji.

Aikin himself had not been allowed to land for some time, notwithstanding a very serious report on the state of his

¹ H.R., N.S.W. v, 745-6.

² *Ibid.* 746.

³ H.R., A., Ser. 1, v, p. 730.

⁴ *Ibid.* 919.

⁵ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 125-6.

health, made to the Governor by Surgeon Luttrell, who certified that in his opinion Aikin was in such a debilitated state "that a removal from the impure air in a crowded cabin "of a small ship to a healthy situation on shore is absolutely "necessary, as a principal means, joined with proper medical "treatment, of again restoring him to health¹."

Much attention was after this attracted from Port Jackson to these still mysterious islands lying away to the east. The memorial of John Macarthur to Governor King, dated 10th June, 1806², is a clear indication of this. The writer began by stating that he having established himself in the Colony

"for the express purpose of uniting such commercial objects with "his agricultural undertakings as might best enable him to "prosecute the latter with vigour and effect, he for some time had "entertained an idea of sending a vessel among the Feejee "Islands, the Friendly Islands, and others within the limits of "this territory, to collect the various valuable articles of trade "with which they are said to abound."

He said that for that purpose he had lately purchased a brig —it was the "Elizabeth"—and had engaged an intelligent and respectable young man—it was William Shelly, formerly of the London Missionary Society—"who, having resided "many years amongst these islands, was well acquainted with "the language, customs, and manners of the inhabitants."

Macarthur next called attention to the then recent success of Captain Chase, of the American vessel "Criterion" in obtaining one hundred and twenty tons of sandalwood from the 'Feejee' Islands, and expresses the fear "that other Americans "and foreigners may follow his example and reap the first "and last fruits of so profitable a trade unless speedy and "energetic methods were adopted to secure it exclusively to "British subjects." For these reasons he asked that his adventure should be supported by the Government, and especially that he might be allowed to purchase the necessary supplies from the naval stores. He added that he had been informed that it had been Captain Flinders's intention to survey the 'Feejee Islands,' and that, if the Government still

¹ H.R., A. v, 735.

² H.R., N.S.W. vi, 92-3.

desired to have this done, he would be glad to provide accommodation on board his vessel (the "Elizabeth") to any officer or person that might be appointed to make such a survey.

Governor King replied approving the sandalwood scheme, and permitting Macarthur to obtain such supplies as could be spared from the Government Stores, but deferring reply as to the proposed survey of the Fiji Islands till the then expected arrival of Governor Bligh.

It may here be noted that the plan of Mbua Bay, and some further nautical detail, which Arrowsmith inserted on his chart of the Fiji Islands published in 1814, are said to have been derived from the "Elizabeth"; but no record has been found as to the appointment of a qualified surveyor to the ship.

In the shipping returns Aikin is shown as having again cleared from Port Jackson to Fiji on the 1st of March, 1807¹, this time in command of the 'colony ship'² "King George"; and there is no record of this vessel's re-entry till on the 21st of July, 1808³, some weeks after the encounter with the "Jenny" at Mbua Bay. But there is a note in the Naval Officer's Returns for 1807 of sandalwood having been imported in that year by the "King George"⁴, from which it is evident that Aikin must have revisited Port Jackson and returned to Fiji in the interval.

Another of these 'colonial vessels,' the brig "Elizabeth," Captain Stewart, is shown only once as having cleared for Fiji, as late as the 7th of February, 1808⁵. But in this case also the Naval Officer's Returns show that this vessel brought sandalwood to Port Jackson in (September) 1807⁶, so that she must have been in Fiji in that year.

The "Elizabeth" was the second of the "two Port Jackson ships" that Lockerby, on arriving in the "Jenny," found at Mbua Bay; and she and the "King George" were "the Colonial Vessels," to which Governor Bligh referred as being "employed in going to the Islands within the limits of the

¹ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 272.

² *I.e.* a ship built and owned in the Colony. The "King George," the earliest of these 'colony ships,' was launched on the 19th of April, 1805 (Heaton's *Australian Dictionary of Dates*, p. 257).

³ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818. ⁴ *Ibid.* 622. ⁵ *Ibid.* 819. ⁶ *Ibid.* 622.

“Territory, trading with the Natives for Sandalwood for “exportation in transient Ships, which have authority to “proceed home by way of China.”

While these two ‘colony ships’ were gathering sandalwood in Fiji, the “Duchess of York,” Captain Austin Forrest, reached Port Jackson, on the 6th of April, 1807, with an ample supply of rice, from Calcutta¹. A month later, on the 6th of May², this ‘British vessel’ (*i.e.* neither colonial nor American) cleared outward, nominally for Bengal, but really for Fiji, whence she returned to Port Jackson on the 26th of the following October, with sixty-five tons of sandalwood³. Probably Captain Forrest there disposed of this first lot of sandalwood. At any rate, the ship was cleared out again ‘in ‘ballast’ on the 24th of November for Canton⁴—just three weeks after the “Jenny,” Captain Dorr, had reached Port Jackson. On this occasion Captain Forrest had increased his crew from twenty-five to forty men. He completed his cargo of sandalwood by the 30th of March, 1808, on which day he left Sandalwood Bay for Canton, meaning to go “by the “Eastern Passage” but, owing to stress of weather, he was obliged to go by the Straits of Malacca, and fetched up at Prince of Wales’ Island (Penang) only on the 29th of July, 1808. There he sold his wood, and left again for Bengal⁵.

On the 2nd of November, 1807, three weeks before the “Duchess of York” finally left Port Jackson, the American ship “Jenny,” Captain William Dorr, with Lockerby as mate, reached that port, but, on suspicion that she was smuggling, she was first ordered out of port, and then, the ship having been secretly run into Broken Bay, was seized and tried before the Vice-Admiralty Court⁶. It was during this detention of his ship that Captain Dorr heard so much of the scramble that was going on for Fijian sandalwood that he determined to engage in that business himself.

Something must now be said as to the attitude of the New South Wales authorities, at this time, towards the trade to the Islands. Captain William Bligh, formerly of H.M.S.

¹ H.R., A. vi, 185. ² *Ibid.* 192. ³ *Ibid.* 618. ⁴ *Ibid.* 616 and 619.

⁵ See pp. 198-9 *post.*

⁶ H.R., A. vi, 218 and 534.

“Bounty,” had succeeded Gidley King as Governor, on 13th of August, 1806. Throughout his short tenure of that office—he was summarily deposed on the 26th of January, 1808—the new Governor met with constant opposition to the reforms which he tried to effect, not merely from the settlers but even more from his own officers. One main cause of the friction was Bligh’s suspicion, more or less well-founded, as to the unlawful introduction of wines and spirits by almost all foreign, and many British, ships arriving at the port, and the illicit trade in these liquors which, as he thought, was carried on by some of the prominent colonists and officials. Another of the troubles of this undoubtedly autocratic Governor was connected with the sandalwood trade, the advantage of which he clearly recognised, and wished to use for the greatest possible benefit of the Colony, even while, because of the above-mentioned illicit importation of spirits, he deprecated the calling of foreign ships at Port Jackson on the way to and from Fiji.

His position was most difficult to maintain. He did not certainly know whether the still uncharted—indeed barely known—Fijian Islands were included within his jurisdiction—under the terms of the original Commission to the Governor of “the new settlement at Port Jackson”; and he was also uncertain how far it was his duty, as representing British Sovereignty, to protect the assumed rights of the East India Company against the encroachment of American vessels trading to the South Seas.

His method of dealing with his difficulties may be indicated, especially as to the sandalwood trade, from his despatches to the Home Government. In October, 1808, after his deposition, he wrote,

“The Sandal-Wood has been procured with old iron, made “into a kind of Chisels, and Nails, Beads, and Trinkets of any “kind, and on very fair principles, which the Estimates shows. “I put a duty of £2 10s. per Ton on exportation, which was paid “by the Purchaser, and not at all felt by the Merchant. I valued “the sandalwood at only £50 per Ton, while it sold here for “about £70, on an average, to Vessels going to China¹. ”

¹ H.R., A. vi, 881-2.

The estimate above mentioned, which was supplied by Robert Campbell, who had been Naval Officer under Bligh is as follows:

ESTIMATE of the Cost, Expences, and Outfit of a Colonial Vessel proceeding on a Voyage to the Feejee Islands for Sandal-Wood, &c.

Value of the Vessel fitted for Sea, with Boatswain, Carpenter, and Gunner's Stores 2,000 o o

Monthly Wages, viz.

Master	...	...	£15
Chief Mate	...	...	8
Second Do.	...	...	6
Carpenter	...	...	6
Boatswain	...	...	5
15 Seamen at £4	...	...	60

£100 per Month for 6 Months is 600 o o

Provisions and Trade

26 Weeks at 1 lb. Pork pr. Man. pr.

Day, is 3,640 lb. at 1s. 6d. ... 273 o o

26 Weeks Bread per Man, is 3,640 lbs.

at 36s. per Cwt. 58 10 o

Flour, 520 lb. at 6d. 13 o o

Sugar, 520 lb. at 1s. 26 o o

Spirits, $\frac{1}{2}$ Gill daily per Man, 45

Gallons at 15s. 33 15 o

Trade 200 o o

604 5 o

Premium of Insurance on £3,000 (Sea Risk) at

5 per Cent. 150 o o

Total Amount £3,354 5 o

Cr.

Suppose 130 Tons of Sandal-Wood, being the Average of Four Cargoes already received¹ at

£50 per Ton 6,500 o o

Deduct the Cost of the Vessel and Outfit with sailing Expences agreeable to the above Estimate

3,354 5 o

3,145 15 o

1,200 o o

Add the Value of the Vessel on her return

4,435 15 o

Net Profit on investing a Capital of £3,354 5s. in

Six Months² 4,435 15 o

¹ The "King George" and the "Elizabeth" had each brought two cargoes.

² Lockerby's description of the sandalwood trade as "equal to coining business" seems justified.

The exact date of Bligh's order imposing an export duty on sandalwood has not been found, but it must have been before, or immediately after, the end of 1807; for this unfortunate Governor was arrested and deposed on the 26th of January, 1808¹. The duty was abolished, or at least suspended, by "a seditious Advertisement in the Rebel *Gazette* "of the 25th (of September 1808) by Lieu't-Colonel Foveaux." In the interim, the "Jenny," on leaving Port Jackson, on the 15th of March, 1808, took eighteen tons, and the "Eliza," which left on the 22nd of April, took nine tons of the wood which had been brought to the Colony by the "King "George" and the "Elizabeth," the "Jenny" paying £45, and the "Eliza" £23. 10s. od., export duty on this².

But the sandalwood question was only one of Bligh's difficulties. More important was the squabble as to the alleged illicit purchase of spirits by military officers, and other prominent Colonists, from foreign ships, such as the "Jenny," visiting the port.

Writing to Lord Castlereagh, in his long defence of his actions, Bligh reported³ that,

"the 'Jenny' was in harbour, and I could not prevent her to sell "any spirit. She sailed on the 8th of February for China, but was "so suddenly sent out of the Port, on a pretended suspicion of "smuggling, that she could not stow her cargo, in consequence "of which she had to put into Broken Bay. This had no sooner "become known than McArthur asserted she had returned to "smuggle, and persuaded Acting Lieutenant Symons to seize her "as a Prize for the Porpoise—which he did—and brought her "back here on the 16th. On the 22nd a Court of Vice-Admiralty "was held, to decide the case, of which Captain Abbott was "Judge, Chas. Grimes, Register, Nicholas Bayly, Marshal, and "Garnham Blaxcell, the Partner in Trade with McArthur, acted "as Agent for the Prosecutor, Symons. In the course of the "Trial an altercation arose between Mr Blaxcell and Captain "Abbott, on account of which the former left the Court and "McArthur took his place and brought with him my private "Instructions from His Majesty's Ministers, reading aloud such "parts of these Instructions as related to the importation of Spirits "into the Colony; and also read that part which related to the "Americans with respect to Trade, and thereby impressing on

¹ H.R., A. vi, 209.

² *Ibid.* 622.

³ *Ibid.* 534.

“the American Masters and Men an Idea of the intentions of His Majesty’s Government being unfavourable to them. After all, the Ship and Cargo were restored to Captain Dorr, who, “feeling himself much injured, has appealed to the High Court of Admiralty, and left it with his Agent, to be sent to England.”

Naval Officer Robert Campbell’s report to Bligh on this matter is more detailed, and is interesting as throwing light on the proceedings of Captain Dorr of the “Jenny,” while at Port Jackson. Campbell’s statement¹ is that,

“On Monday afternoon the 7th of February, Mr David Bevan informed me that, two days before Governor Bligh was arrested, the Major authorized several Officers to get Spirits out of the American Ship ‘Jenny,’ Captain Dorr, and that it was done at Twelve o’clock at night, and carried round to Cockle Bay. That on Thursday the 3rd of February, Captain Kemp sent an order on board for one hundred gallons of Brandy to be carried to Parramatta and it was delivered in Mr Dorr’s absence by the Supercargo; the following morning Mr Laycock informed the Major of this circumstance, and which was the cause of the ship being so precipitately ordered away. That the last Spirits was not paid for when the ship sailed, having been settled by a Bill of Captain Kemp’s, which Mr Bevan is to get consolidated and remit the amount to Mr Franceur by the Eliza.

“On the 17th of February, after Captain Dorr had been brought back with his Ship to Sydney, he related to me the following circumstances. On the night of the Illumination², the 28th of January, Serjeant Major Whittle came to him at Mr Bevan’s, where he lodged, and wanted two Pipes of Brandy, to keep up the Night, for payment of which he offered a Paymaster’s Note of £173 14s. 9d., and said that he was sent by Mr Minchin for that purpose. Capt. Dorr positively refused, and went on board his ship to give strict orders to allow no Spirits to go over the side, and returned on shore; but some time after Whittle went on board, and with the Serjeant of the Guard went into Mr Franceur’s cabin, where he was asleep, and informed him that he was come by order for two casks of spirits, and that there was the payment—throwing into his Cot the before mentioned Pay Note. The Spirits were then put into the Boat and carried round to Cockle Bay.

“That about three weeks after his Arrival (2nd November

¹ H.R., A. vi, 522-5.

² This was the occasion on which Lockerby used the ship’s candles to light up the “Jenny” in honour of Governor Bligh’s arrest.

“1807) Kemp drove him out to the Major’s, who they found with “Lawson; and that the Major said he was glad to see him and “asked him to sit down. That he was afterwards asked if he had “got leave to land his spirits, and on Kemp observing ‘Do you “‘not intend to smuggle?’ the Major said ‘By God, the Governor “‘must look very sharp otherwise we will take it from you in spite “‘of him.’ Captain Dorr observed, that he had given his word to “Governor Bligh, and that the object was so trifling, he would “run no risks. That the general topic of conversation was respecting Spirits, and that in General Grose’s time the Officers “were allowed to go on board of Ships when they pleased, and “purchase a cask or two from the Americans from three to four “shillings per gallon, and sell it afterwards for two and Three “pounds; that in those times the Officers could live, cultivate “their Farms, and make money, but at present they could do “nothing but barely exist.”

With this report Robert Campbell submitted the following extract from a letter, dated 22nd of March, 1808, which he had received from Captain Dorr, who wrote that,

“In your time, I have not only been called upon, but pressed “against my inclination by the Officers of the New South Wales “Corps to enter into illicit practices against the Rules and Regu-“lations of the Colony. Upon the Suspicion of such practices “you well know I have lately been brought before a Vice Ad-“miralty Court held for that purpose; and what is more sur-“prizing, by the same Man, Lieutenant Governor Johnston, who “gave his free permission to the Officers under him to undertake “the smuggling of my Spirits on shore, when William Bligh Esq. “was Governor, and only wished that his name might not be “mentioned. Captain Kemp came to me one day, while at dinner “with Mr Bevan and other Gentlemen, to take me out in his “Chaise to Major Johnston’s Seat. I went with him, and found “the Major at home, and after being there a little while they took “a walk in the garden, and were there for some time. Captain “Kemp and myself returned to Sydney, and he informed me that “he had been talking with the Major respecting my Spirits, and “said that the Major had given his permission, but wished that “his name might not be brought in question. I have since that “been repeatedly called upon by the Gentlemen Officers to under-“take the business, and I have as repeatedly denied them...and “in that manner I have been continually harrassed by those Gentle-“men Officers, and men employed under them, to undertake the

"Smuggling of Spirits; the temptation offered, and such frequent applications, would be almost impossible for any man to withhold.

"Mr John McArthur and Garnham Blaxcell, the two Gentlemen that pretended to adhere, at my trial, so strictly to the Rules and Regulations of this Colony, and the private Instructions from the Secretary of State to His Excellency Governor Bligh, "have forgot I presume, that they were ready in Governor Bligh's time to take and smuggle from Captain Corry of the American 'Brig Eliza' now here, all his Spirits at Twenty Shillings a Gallon, "which Captain Corry informed me was the case."

How far Captain Dorr was himself responsible for the troubles in which he was involved at Port Jackson remains uncertain, but he must have been glad to shake the dust out of the "Jenny's" sails when, having shipped more seamen, and taken additional guns, ammunition, and other necessary articles on board, he cleared from the port finally on the 15th of March, 1808¹.

Lockerby, whose Journal may now be followed, states that it was during the stay at Port Jackson that the news of sandalwood in Fiji was obtained, "which Islands," he adds, "were first visited by Europeans four years previously," obviously referring to the visits by the "Marcia" and the "Fair American."

Tongatabu, the southernmost of the Friendly Islands, at which the "Jenny" first called, was then regarded as the nearest known anchorage to the still less known, and quite uncharted, Fijian Islands; but it was certainly not a place at which ships could call incautiously. For since Captain Cook's visit, as the result of which he had given the name of "the Friendly Islands" to the group, it had become a resort for passing ships engaged in whale fishing and seal hunting in that part of the South Seas; and from these ships many undesirable Europeans, the so-called 'beachcombers,' had in one way or another got ashore and had settled among the

¹ Lockerby gives this date (see p. 9 *post*). The entry in the official shipping returns, mention is made of the clearance for Fiji of "The Jeannette" on the 20th of March; and the *Sydney Gazette* says only 'March, 1808' (see p. 202 *post*). The "Eliza," Captain Correy, cleared, according to Patterson, on the 1st of May, while the Port Jackson Shipping Returns say the 22nd of April (probably the date at which the ship dropped out from Sydney Cove). H.R., N.S.W. vi, 819.

natives of the place. When Captain Wilson of the "Duff," in 1797, landed the first missionaries at that place, he found that these beachcombers, some of them at any rate, had already perturbed the former 'friendliness' of the natives, superficial as this may have been, towards white-skinned visitors; and subsequently, the increase in the number of passing ships which called 'to refresh,' and still later the scramble for the sandalwood which, as the Tongatabuans had long known, grew in considerable abundance in the adjacent but still almost unvisited 'Feejee' Islands, soon turned Tongatabu into as dangerous a nest of wreckers as has perhaps ever existed. The Tongans have been stigmatised as "a nation of wreckers" but this was largely due to the influence on them of some of the 'beachcombers.'

Within a very few years before the "Jenny" called there, the lawlessness of the place had been much increased by the incoming of more aliens, at a time when the natives of the several islands were fighting among themselves. In 1800 some at least of the survivors from the wreck of the "Argo" reached Tongatabu from Mbukatatanoa reef; and at least one of these is believed to have been active in instigating the natives to attack ships that called. Next, in 1802, the seizure of the American ship "Duke of Portland," and, in 1804, the attempted seizure of the "Union," accompanied in both cases with much bloodshed, were at the instigation of aliens. Two years later, in 1806, the seizure of the "Port au Prince," from which William Mariner got ashore, took place not at Tongatabu but at Lefuka, in the Haapai Islands, the central of the three main Friendly Island groups; but there is little doubt that it belongs to the same series of incidents, all of which were due to the growing desire of the Friendly Islanders to get the help of European men and arms for the prosecution of their own native wars.

On the other hand, the kindly hospitality experienced by Mariner¹, after the seizure of the "Port au Prince," during

¹ Mariner's and Lockerby's experience of native hospitality were noticeably similar; if Mariner had told his story without the able assistance of Dr Martin, or if Lockerby had had the assistance of as able an editor, the similarity would have been yet greater.

the period of nearly four years, while living among the Friendly Islanders, seems to show that, away from the lawless conditions prevalent at Tongatabu, and away from the more evilly disposed alien beachcombers, the Islanders were not averse from living on friendly terms with Europeans.

Lockerby's suspicions of the evil intentions of the folk on shore when the "Jenny" called at Tongatabu were probably well-founded, and the precautions taken against the seizure of the ship were wise; but one wonders whether, when, at a later time, he had had personal experience of the hospitality of the so-called 'savages,' he remembered with any regret that from the "Jenny," when departing, "several swivels "loaded with grape shot were fired amongst (the Tongata- "buans), by way of wishing them goodbye, and leaving them "to lament over their bad luck, and perhaps some of their "dead friends."

From Tongatabu the "Jenny" was steered in a north-easterly direction, along the line of the Lau Islands, at several of which she called and had intercourse with the natives. This was approximately the course followed by all the ships which at that period approached Sandalwood Island from Tongatabu; the actual track of the "Elizabeth" is marked on Arrowsmith's *Chart of the Feejee Islands*¹, issued in 1814. At Mbua Bay, which the "Jenny" reached on 21st of May, 1808, the two 'Port Jackson ships,' the "King George" and the "Elizabeth" were found at anchor.

After an altercation with the people of the two colonial ships, due, no doubt, to objection on the part of the colonists to trade by Americans in places then held to lie within the jurisdiction of New South Wales, the "Jenny's" people at once set to work to enter into friendly relations with the Mbuan Chief, from whom they hoped to get a cargo of sandalwood.

Lockerby's stay in Fiji may be regarded as divisible into three periods: firstly the time from his arrival to that at

¹ Krusenstern (*Mém. Hydrographiques*, p. 232) says that this chart was originally published in 1811, but this is almost certainly a mistake.

which the "Jenny" sailed away and left him; secondly that which he spent actually among the Fijians, as the guest of the Chief of Mbua; and thirdly that, after the arrival of the "Favourite," while he was engaged in collecting sandalwood for that ship and for the "General Wellesley," on which last named ship he sailed for China.

As soon as the trouble with the two Port Jackson ships was at an end, and the "Jenny" had come to anchor at the mouth of the Mbua River, Lockerby went ashore, and began to establish his friendly relations with the Mbuan Chief. The next day that Chief came on board the "Jenny," and received a present of five whale's teeth and some ironwork. In return the Chief undertook to set his people to cut sandalwood, for which purpose he was provided with axes and saws. But as the sandalwood near the town of Mbua had already been cut, the "Jenny's" boats had to go for fifty miles, round the great promontory the southern neck of which is formed by Mbua Bay, to Wailea Bay, which is on the northern side of this promontory. The boats of the "King George" and the "Elizabeth" were already at Wailea, for a similar purpose; and the Port Jackson men did what they could to disturb the friendly relations which were growing up between the Americans and the Mbuan. The "King George," however, in a few days left on return to Port Jackson.

At the end of June the long-boat of the American ship "Eliza," Captain Correy, reached Mbua, bringing news that the ship had been wrecked off the island of Nairai—Lockerby, no doubt on the authority of Captain Correy, says this happened on the 23rd of May. The captain and, with one exception, the crew got safely on shore, at Nairai, and even contrived to save, for the moment, a large proportion of the silver dollars which had been on the ship. The Nairai folk had stripped the refugees of most of their clothes and all else that had been brought ashore, but without offering them further violence. Captain Correy, with the two mates and two other of the sailors, had even been allowed, after a week, to take the long-boat and go in search of the "Jenny,"

which they believed to be not far off. Six thousand of the dollars were collected from the natives, who evidently attached no very great value to such things, and were carried off in the long-boat.

The long-boat first reached Mbau, which lies almost directly westward, and at no great distance from Nairai. At Mbau, where a few beachcombers were already living among the natives, Captain Correy and his companions were further stripped of any possessions which the Nairai folk had left to them, but, after a detention of three weeks, were allowed to go on, in their own boat but without provisions except coconuts. At last the "Jenny" was found at Mbua, which lies north-west from Nairai, and at a much greater distance from that island than is Mbau.

A tradition as to the wreck of a ship called the "Eliza" at Nairai about 1808—she has generally been supposed to have been a Spanish ship—has survived to the present day, both among Europeans and natives in Fiji, this being doubtless due to the great hoard of coins which were thrown on to the island from the ship. Even now an occasional Peruvian or Chilian silver piece is found in the island. But by a strange chance the fairly full account of the wreck, written as long ago as 1817 by Samuel Patterson, himself a sailor on board the ship at the time of the wreck, has till now been overlooked.

Not the least interesting point in Patterson's story is his statement that Charles Savage, the most conspicuous figure in the vague picture hitherto known of the first coming of Europeans to Fiji, had been picked up by the "Eliza" at Tongatabu, and was on the ship at the time of the wreck. The fact that he could speak the language seems to show that he had been there before, though possibly it was in the Tongan language that he was able to communicate to some extent with the Fijians. On the other hand, it seems possible that, as has been said¹, it was from the wreck of the "Argo," that Savage first landed in Fiji, whence he got to Tongatabu; indeed, he may have been the very member of the "Argo's"

¹ See p. 95 and *n. 1 post.*

crew who was interviewed by Turnbull¹. At any rate it is certain that Savage was one of the white men who settled earliest at Mbau, and that he acquired very great influence among the Mbauans, and retained this until, in full sight of Peter Dillon from the rock, he was killed and eaten by the enraged Waileans.

Four days after the long-boat of the "Eliza" had reached "Jenny," two boats were manned and armed, in which Captain Correy and his men, and Lockerby with some of the "Jenny's" crew, proceeded to Nairai, to recover as much of the "Eliza's" money as they could. On arriving, it was found that the men left there by Captain Correy, had gone to the neighbouring island of Mbatiki, taking with them 'the greatest part of the money.' But during three days stay at Nairai, the salvage expedition had little difficulty in recovering some nine thousand dollars from the natives, who seemed to set but little store by it. The natives seemed quite friendly until, on the afternoon of the day on which the boats were to start back to the "Jenny," Correy and Lockerby, being in the boat on which was the recovered money were suddenly seized and thrown into the water by some natives who had been on board with them. The sailors still on the boat were then attacked not only by the natives already on board but also by others who had been in two canoes lying alongside. With some difficulty, and at the expense of a serious wound to the 2nd mate of the "Eliza," the natives were driven off. Correy and Lockerby, who had got back into their boat, steered directly to a large native canoe which was seen coming towards them, evidently with the intention of attacking them. When within a distance of about a hundred

¹ See p. xxxix *ante*. Again, there is a curious story, mentioned by the American Amasa Delano in his *Narrative of Voyages and Travels*, pp. 460-3, and told also in H.R., N.S.W. v, p. 521. Delano, then Captain of the "Perseverance," in August, 1804, was seal hunting at Kent's Bay, where a Port Jackson gang, in the service of Lord, Kable and Co., were doing the same. Delano complained that his men were being enticed from his service by the Port Jackson gang and took strong measures to get them back. The Port Jackson manager was stripped and flogged; and after that the deserters returned to the American ship, with two exceptions, one of which was Charles Savage.

yards, the Europeans fired their swivel and muskets at the natives, killing a number and causing the rest to jump over-board and swim ashore. That night the salvage party left "these unfriendly people," and made their way back to the "Jenny," which was reached on the 11th of July.

On the 17th of July a boat belonging to the "Elizabeth," in which were three Europeans and two Tahitians, while passing up the coast to Wailea, met with a canoe belonging to the island of Tavea, some thirty miles beyond Wailea. The men in the "Elizabeth's" boat—Lockerby states that they were the aggressors—fired upon the canoe; the Tavea men retaliated, killing the three Europeans, whose bodies they carried ashore, and taking the Tahitians with them as prisoners.

As neither Captain Stewart of the "Elizabeth," to which ship the men and boat thus fallen into the hands of the Taveans belonged, nor Captain Dorr, who probably thought it was none of his business, proposed to take action in the matter, Lockerby, on his own responsibility, proceeded to Tavea, with three armed whale-boats, intending to recover the two men—the Tahitians—who were said to be still alive, if possible on friendly terms but otherwise by force. He had with him a man who had been sometime among the islanders and could speak their language. This interpreter—it was almost certainly Charles Savage—was sent ashore to invite the Chief of Tavea to come on to Lockerby's boat. The ruse being successful, the Chief was detained on the boat; and the interpreter was once more sent ashore, to try to persuade the Taveans to send out the two Tahitian prisoners in exchange for their Chief. The Taveans, suspicious of the proposal, detained Lockerby's messenger as a hostage, but allowed him to send a message, written on a stone, telling that he would not be allowed to return to the boat until the Chief was sent ashore. A great deal more negotiation followed, in the course of which the Taveans sent out, first a large present of coconuts and other provisions, and then sent a canoe full of their women to sing and dance; but Lockerby continued obdurate. At length, the Taveans sent

out the interpreter and the two Tahitians; and Lockerby, according to promise, sent the Chief ashore. The Tahitians reported that the bodies of two of the three white men who had been killed had been cooked and sent as presents to other places, and with their own eyes they had seen the third body eaten. Lockerby says he did not think it prudent at that time to avenge the death of these men—of whom, by the way, he had already said that they were the aggressors in the fight which led to their death; but he did demand that the Taveans should give up to him the “Elizabeth’s” boat, and, the Taveans refusing to give up the boat except at the price of a whale’s tooth, he made his men back the boats near to the shore, and, when at a proper distance fired on the Taveans with swivels and musket, and then pulled hard away. Not unnaturally the natives gave chase in thirty canoes, for twenty miles, all the time under fire from the European boats, till night fell. Soon after Lockerby’s boats got into safety, in Wailea Bay.

These adventures, to Nairai to recover the “Eliza’s” treasure and to Tavea to recover the Tahitian prisoners, were but interludes in Lockerby’s normal work, which was the collection of sandalwood for the “Jenny.” It had been found convenient to put up a hut on the beach at Wailea, as a depot for the wood brought in by the natives. The “Jenny” still lay at Mbua Bay; and from time to time the wood was transferred from Wailea to the ship, sometimes by Lockerby and sometimes by the supercargo Francker. Towards the end of July a full cargo had been nearly completed. About this time also there was a quarrel between Lockerby and Captain Dorr. Lockerby gives somewhat divergent accounts of the cause of the dispute; but there can be little doubt that the independent attitude which the mate had now assumed, and the consequent displeasure, justifiable or not, of the Captain, had given rise to strained relations between the two. As a consequence, Lockerby remained entirely ashore, at Wailea.

Quite at the end of July, Lockerby heard from natives that the “Jenny” had sailed for China; and, on going down to

Mbua Bay, he found that the report was true. He and the six men of his boat's crew were left alone among the Fijians. Lockerby assumed that he had been purposely left by Captain Dorr; but the last named afterwards explained that his ship had been blown out by a gale, and that, having had only a jury-mast since the storm encountered before reaching Tongatabu, he was unable to return to pick up his derelict men and boat.

It was on the 29th of July, 1808, that the "Jenny" left Fiji. The Port Jackson ship "Elizabeth," Captain Stewart, was, it is true, still in Mbua Bay; but Lockerby's relations with the Captain and crew of that ship had long been so strained that he was unwilling to appeal to them for help. Moreover, this ship must have left Fiji soon after the "Jenny," for she re-entered her home port on the 16th of September¹. Under these circumstances Lockerby determined to throw himself on the hospitality of the Chief of Mbua, with whom, and with whose people, he had always kept on friendly terms.

For the next nine weeks Lockerby lived with and as a Fijian, being well received and treated by the Mbuan Chief and his people, he himself being allowed the privileges of chiefly rank—though the sailors left behind with him were treated as commoners. His case is curiously like that of William Mariner, who at the very same time, though Lockerby did not know this, was living, at no great distance away and under very similar conditions, among the Friendly Islanders. Had Lockerby's stay among the Fijians been longer, and had he afterwards had the good fortune to meet with an editor as able as Dr John Martin, he might have given to the world a book of reminiscences as to Fiji as valuable as Mariner's account of the Tonga, or rather Friendly, Islanders. But, on the other hand, Lockerby's story, as far as it goes, seems to have some advantage over that of Mariner in the very fact that it came straight from his own hand, instead of having been elicited by the literary skill of Martin.

Somewhat similar interest, if less in degree, may be claimed for Samuel Patterson's narrative of his experiences

¹ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818.

when, but for several of his former messmates of the "Eliza," he lived alone among the Nairai and Mbatiki native folk. Less educated than Lockerby, and thus less fitted to observe and record, he lived from the time of the wreck of the "Eliza" to the day on which he was hoisted on board the "Favourite" at Mbua Bay, which was a few days before Lockerby left Fiji in the "General Wellesley," practically entirely alone among Fijian natives, differing only from Lockerby's associates in that the Nairai community was more or less shut up in a small island, situated at some distance from the Mbuan head-quarters, and that Patterson's hosts had already been slightly touched by Tongan influences. It is, however, noteworthy that Patterson and his messmates from the "Eliza" were treated as commoners, whereas Lockerby, an officer of the "Jenny" was treated as a chief, while the members of the crew of the same ship were regarded only as commoners.

Lockerby's residence with the Mbuan Chief, during which, as he says, he "endeavoured to acquire the good-will of the "natives, and in particular of the King," was at a time of crisis in native affairs. The Mbuan Chief had, at the moment, acquired great power, owing to the wealth which the sandal-wood ships had brought to the Bay, and in consequence had incurred the jealousy not only of the independent Chiefs of the group but also of some of his own subordinate Chiefs. Probably never in the history of the Fijian people had there been lasting peace between their Chiefs, for it is certain that each Chief was always eager to extend his own territory at the expense of that of his neighbours. But while Lockerby was among them there was special reason for unrest; the other Chiefs saw no reason why they should not try to get a share of the good things which the ships of the white men had brought to Mbua Bay.

The Mbuan Chief was well aware that a combination of Chiefs from other islands, and probably of some from the more distant parts of the great island, over a part of which he ruled, was preparing to attack him.

It is especially interesting here to note that Mbau, which

had comparatively recently begun greatly to increase the predominating influence over the islands to which it afterwards attained—when Mbua, exhausted of its sandalwood, was no longer heard of—was among the assailants. It is certain that this increase of Mbau power was partly due to the arrival at the Islet of exceptionally able Polynesian Chiefs, who pushed their way thither from a landfall at the south-western corner of Viti Levu, and partly owing to the congregation at the Islet of European sailors who had drifted thither from the “Argo” and other ships in distress.

The presence of Lockerby, and of the handful of white men more or less under his command, must, for this reason, have been especially welcome to the Mbuan Chief, who lost no opportunity of interesting his foreign guest in the methods of native warfare. The visit to the fort at Tathilevu, and the building of the similar fort at Mbua—which had never before been attacked, and had therefore had no need of such defence—were an important part of the old Mbuan Chief’s strategy for meeting the expected attack.

While watching and recording the preparations for the defence of Mbua, Lockerby had exceptional advantages for seeing native life from a near point of view; but at the same time he did not fail to make secret preparations, with the help of his white companions, for escaping from the islands, in case no European ship called and took them off. The work of adapting the boat which the “Jenny” had left behind for a long sea journey was put in hand, the Mbuan Chief’s suspicions as to the purpose for which this was intended being lulled by the assurance that the boat was intended to help in the defence against the expected native attack.

On the 2nd of October, just as the boat had been launched and was all but ready to go to sea, and all preparations for meeting the native attack had been completed, the situation was suddenly entirely changed by the coming into Mbua Bay of the “Favourite,” Captain William Campbell, in search of a cargo of sandalwood. From this time began the third period of Lockerby’s experiences in Fiji.

Lockerby, greatly helped by the experience he had gained of the Fijians and their ways, at once offered himself to collect wood for the "Favourite," as soon as the expected native fighting should permit; and his services were readily accepted.

Partly to engage men to cut sandalwood and partly to glean information as to the coming attack, Lockerby, on the 6th of October, with a Mr Graham, "a gentleman passenger" (on the 'Favourite') who wished to see the interior of the "island," went to Na Korovatu, a town on a rock a few miles from Mbua town, the two places, however, being at that time separated by a jungle almost impassable except by natives. The Chief of this rock-fastness, whom Lockerby calls 'Gorobato'—after the name of his town Korovatu, readily engaged to cut wood "when the war should be over," but at the same time somewhat naïvely blurted out that he and the Chief of Tathilevu (Tatelepo), a fishing town on the coast close to the town of Mbua, both these Chiefs being vassals of the Mbuan Chief, had agreed to join the enemy, "in order to be revenged on the Chief of Tavea (Taffier), who "was the King of Mbua's nephew, for the many depredations "which the Chief of Tavua had committed on the various "islands." 'Gorobato' also said that he had heard that the enemy had already landed on some part of the coast, and asked Lockerby as to the truth of this rumour.

Lockerby and Graham, the business concluded, tried to get back to Mbua that same evening, but, being without guides, lost their way in the bush, and spent a most unpleasant night among the 'serpents'—snakes must have been more numerous in Fiji in those days than they now are—and eventually got out to Tathilevu, the fishing village, only at dawn. On getting back to Mbua town, they found that during their absence the "General Wellesley," Captain David Dalrymple, had arrived from Penang, having been a very long time, and lost many men from sickness, while coming round the south of Australia, or 'New Holland' as Lockerby calls it. From that time the two ships, the "Favourite" and the "General Wellesley," worked in consort.

Lockerby, with seven men, in the launch, and Thomas Smith, the 2nd officer of the "Favourite," with six men, in the whale-boat, next left for Wailea, hoping there to get sandalwood, but, after a stay of four days, found they could get none, all the Waileans being shut up in their fort, expecting attack by the enemy. On the 10th of October the two ships' boats, therefore, prepared to return to Mbua.

But, when running out from Wailea Bay, they saw at least a hundred and fifty of the enemy's canoes passing across the mouth of the Bay, on the way to attack the island of Tavea, which lay a short distance farther up the coast. It seemed hopeless either to run away or to fight; so both Lockerby, in the launch, and Thomas Smith, in the whale-boat, steered directly for the war-canoes, in the hope of establishing friendly relations. Luckily for himself, Smith came up with the canoe of the leader of the expedition, 'Bulendam' (Mbula Ndama, the Chief of the District next below Mbua), and was well and hospitably received by that Chief, and was eventually returned to his ship, uninjured. Lockerby, on the other hand, unfortunately encountered the war-canoe from Mbau, and consequently fared much worse. His own account of what happened to him and his men at this moment is that as soon as the whale-boat got within reach of the great canoe, "one of the largest of the sort," several of the Fijians jumped from it into the whale-boat, plundered it of every thing they could find, and dragged him and his companions on to the canoe, where they were stripped to the skin and tumbled into the hold. Mate Smith says that the immense war-canoe ran down the whale-boat, cutting her in two, but picking up and making prisoners of the crew. The two stories are by no means irreconcilable; the great canoe, unwieldy and difficult to steer, probably did run the whale-boat down, either purposely or otherwise, and the Fijians, under orders from their Chief, did at once save the boat's crew, who, it was hoped, would help in the intended attack on Tavea. Lockerby probably owed his severe treatment to his truculent bearing. He and Mate Smith alike declined to fight with the natives, thus disappointing the hopes of the Fijians; but Smith tact-

fully accepted his position as a prisoner, whereas Lockerby persistently resented this.

All the prisoners from both ships' boats were carried on, and became eye-witnesses of the siege and sack of that unfortunate islet; and the story they tell of this, gruesome as are the details, provides probably the most full and trustworthy record that exists of the methods of native warfare, when unhelped by Europeans, of the ruthlessness of attack, and of the extraordinary equanimity with which a Fijian prisoner, having escaped death during the actual fighting, could accept the position of being killed and eaten for the next morning's meal of his captors.

The Fijian war-party, having utterly destroyed Tavea, next turned its attention on the proposed attack on the town of Mbua and its Chief, which, indeed, had been their original objective. It was certainly awkward for them that the two European ships, the "Favourite" and the "General Wellesley," were lying in the Bay in such a position that these would have to be passed before the town of Mbua could be assaulted. The further fact that Lockerby and Smith, and their fellow prisoners, belonged to these same two ships must have further complicated the plan of attack. The prisoners, refusing to join in the fighting, were somewhat of an encumbrance, and in the opinion of some of the captors should be sent back to their ships, in exchange either for a ransom of whale's teeth or even for the coveted permission to pass by and attack Mbua.

Five days were spent in sailing back to the point on the western side of Mbua Bay. Here one of Lockerby's companions got away, by night, and, having crossed the Point, found Captain Campbell, in the "Wellesley's" launch, off the town of Tathilevu, the people of which had carried out their intention of revolting from Mbua. Campbell had heard that Lockerby and his party had all been killed and eaten, and, in revenge, had fired on the revolted town and killed many of the inhabitants. It was then that he picked up the escaped prisoner, and from him learned the true facts, and that the whole of the enemy's fleet would be in Mbua Bay the next day.

The next morning the fleet of canoes hauled into the Bay, but hesitated to pass the two ships, which, with their boarding nets up, had been moored together. The Fijians put all their prisoners into one canoe, which was sent forward towards the ships, Lockerby telling them that they would be well paid for their trouble, and even promising that he would help them in attacking the Mbuan Chief. Just as the canoe was being sent off the Fijians in it heard of the killing of the Tathilevu men by Captain Campbell. This caused further delay and argument; but eventually the canoe, with all the prisoners except Lockerby and one other, Thomas Berry by name, was allowed to start. On the way, the prisoners over-powered their Fijian warders, and carried the canoe to the ship's side. Once on board, the released prisoners treated their late warders roughly, and would have been still more severe on them but for the thought of what might be done to Lockerby and Berry in retaliation. When leaving the ship the Fijians used threats as to what they would do to the two white men still in their hands; and consequently Captain Campbell took two chiefs from the canoe as hostages.

When the canoe got back to the Fijian fleet, without the expected ransom, and without the two hostages, the lives of Lockerby and Berry were for a time in great peril. But Mbuli Ndama—the same Chief who had treated Mate Smith rather as a guest than a prisoner—together with the father of one of the hostage chiefs intervened, and ransomed Lockerby and Berry, for two whale's teeth, two tomahawks, and two pieces of iron, from the Chief of Mbau, who had proved so much sterner a jailer. Lockerby was then assured that he and his companion would not be killed if the two chiefs then detained on the ship were not injured.

The Fijian fleet having gone for that night to Mangrove Point, about seven miles distant from the ships, Lockerby, at midnight, attempted to escape by swimming, but was discovered and, his assertion that he was only washing himself not being believed, was more closely watched than ever.

Next day, the 24th of October, and the fourteenth day since Lockerby had been a prisoner, he and Berry were told, but

refused to believe, that the two chiefs had been killed on the ship; and Lockerby, to prove his good faith, urged that Berry should be sent on board, on which one of the ship's hostages would be released, and that he himself should be detained until it should have been learned from the lips of the released chief what treatment he and his companion had met with on board. But the Fijians, anxious to begin the attack on Mbua, decided to deliver both their prisoners to the ships in exchange for the two hostage chiefs, who, as Lockerby assured them, were still alive.

But on approaching the ships for this purpose, the Fijians, as is their custom, broke into song; and Captain Campbell, thinking that this was a sign of intended attack, fired on the canoes and killed some of the men in them. Thereupon the canoes turned back; and Lockerby, who, with Berry, had been lashed to the deck, persuaded the natives to lash him; instead, to the mast of the canoe on which he was, and from this conspicuous position contrived, by his gesticulations, to attract the attention of Captain Campbell. A small boat, manned by four lascars, was, accordingly sent from the ship, with a large ransom, which, however, the Fijians refused to accept, but continued to demand their two chiefs.

One of the lascars, speaking in his own language, which the Fijians did not understand, told Lockerby that the two chiefs were really dead, having been shot while attempting to escape. In despair, Lockerby now sent word back to Campbell that he and Berry could now only be rescued by force from the Fijians; and, at the same time, he persuaded the Fijians to make fast their canoes to a coral reef, and there to wait for their two chiefs, for whom, he said, he had sent the lascars back.

In compliance with the message by the lascars, Captain Campbell, in the ship's cutter, manned by fourteen volunteers and with two black men sitting in the bow, with their backs to the enemy, to represent the dead chiefs, at once put off and approached the Fijian fleet. When the cutter was within speaking distance, Campbell was advised by Lockerby to close up and fire, in the expectation that the natives would

spring overboard, so that in the confusion Lockerby might untie himself, jump overboard and swim to the cutter.

Unfortunately the sailors, who had been instructed to lie hid in the bottom of the boat, got alarmed at their near approach to the reef, jumped up and fired prematurely. Lockerby succeeded in getting into the water several times, but each time was hauled back into the canoe by the Fijians. Berry, meanwhile, did get away and swam towards the ships. At last Lockerby contrived to remain long enough under water to swim to within ten yards of the cutter, but was then seen and seized by an especially powerful native, and was nearly drowned, until a ball from one of the cutter's guns put an end to his antagonist. Lockerby was then taken into the cutter, which, on the way to the ship, picked up Berry also. The Fijians followed nearly up to the ships, but were then driven off by the fire from the big guns.

The Fijian fleet, the leaders now quite disheartened, their own losses having been so great, without any advantage gained over the white men, and without further hope of being allowed to attack Mbua, now dispersed to their own homes.

Lockerby, after several days rest on board ship, landed and visited his old friend the Mbuan Chief, who, being still afraid that the enemy might land on some other part of the coast, and so take him in the rear, gladly still maintained at his fort a heavily armed guard from the "General Wellesley." The Chief, however, sent his followers to cut sandalwood, under protection of an armed party from the ships, and presented each vessel with about ten tons of the wood, in gratitude for the protection he had received from the white men.

Two days later several of the petty chiefs who had been out with the enemy arrived at Mbua, to make submission to their old Chief; these penitents were so well received and pardoned that they went home singing and rejoicing. But there were still two centres of disaffection very near and therefore very dangerous to Mbua—and also to the interests of the sandalwood traders; these were Korovatu—Lockerby

calls it Gorobato—the town on a rock but a few miles behind Mbua, and Tathilevu, the fishing town on the coast still nearer to Mbua. The Chiefs of both had been vassal to Mbua, and both had deliberately conspired to join the enemy. The Tathilevu folk had long been hostile to Europeans—not without cause; and their ill-will had not been lessened by Captain Campbell's action in firing on their fort and killing some of their number—in revenge for the supposed massacre of Lockerby and his party at Tavea.

On the 28th of October, a third vessel, the American ship "Tonquin," Captain Bromley, arrived in Sandalwood Bay, and joined the "Favourite" and the "General Wellesley."

That same day the ships' boats were fully armed, and in these Lockerby and the Mbuan Chief proceeded to Tathilevu, to make peace. Lockerby and the Chief alone landed, under cover of the boat's guns; and the Mbuan Chief had nearly succeeded in making peace between the two towns when it was mentioned that the Europeans must be included in the pact. To this the Tathilevu people would by no means consent, saying that they would kill as many of the white men as they could. The negotiations then ended.

Then, as the hostility of the Tathilevu folk made the going on shore to cut sandalwood very risky, the Europeans agreed with the Mbua Chief, with Mbuli Ndama, and some other native Chiefs, to destroy or drive these obstinate folk from the island.

Before dawn on the appointed day, the 2nd of November, the Fijian Chiefs just named, with about 1800 of the followers, met Lockerby, who was in the "General Wellesley's" launch, and had with him sixteen well-armed Europeans, at the landing-place for Tathilevu. Mr Brown, the chief mate of the "Tonquin" was also present in his ship's launch, with fourteen armed men; but, Lockerby adds, these Americans, their wages being small, did not engage heartily in the affairs of the day.

The operations against the fort of Tathilevu differed essentially from those against Tavea in that on this later occasion the natives were materially assisted by Europeans provided

with fire-arms. But the Tathilevu affair shows that even the walls of a Fijian fortress might afford some measure of defence. The final result was, however, as complete destruction of the besieged native folk as at Tavea. 'Wallabatoo,' more correctly Valevatu, the one-eyed Chief of Tathilevu, was killed, as were many of his followers; and the rest were either made prisoners or were driven away to find refuge at, or beyond, the confines of the Mbuan area. Lockerby claims to have used his influence to render the cannibal orgies which took place after the sack somewhat less gruesome than those after the Tavea affair.

One European was killed at Tathilevu, Thomas Berry, the same who had shared Lockerby's recent captivity. The burial of this man, in presence of the ship's companies and of the Mbuan Chief and his people, was carried out with a curious mixture of European and Fijian ceremony.

The only reference by Lockerby to intertribal fighting after the fall of Tathilevu is where he mentions (see p. 68 *post*) being present at a great gathering of the Chiefs of the district round Mbua at Sawasau, at which the question of attacking "a small island to the westward" was discussed. The island referred to was almost certainly Mbau, the islet on the distant Viti Levu coast, the subsequent power of which over most of the western islands of the group was then beginning to make itself felt. But Mbau was far away from the sandalwood country, and was not yet able to interfere greatly in Mbuan affairs.

All fear of attack by the native rebels living on or near the sandalwood coast being now at an end, Lockerby resumed his task of completing the cargoes of the three ships for which he was then working. But, the sandalwood trees having now been almost completely cleared from the immediate neighbourhood of Mbua Bay, he went, in the boats of the "General Wellesley" and the "Tonquin," farther than he had before been, and reached what he calls 'Lagota Bay,' or, as it is now called, Ngaloa Bay, into which the Lekutu River flows. Here he found a fresh supply of wood, and was soon able to complete a cargo for the "Favourite."

The movements of the “Favourite” at this time are not very easy to follow. She must have left Fiji very soon after the sack of Tathilevu; for the shipping records of Port Jackson show that she reached that port on the 21st of November, 1808¹. On that occasion the ship was under the command of the 1st mate, Arnold Fisk, Captain Campbell having remained behind at the Islands (see p. 192 *post*). Captain Dalrymple of the “General Wellesley” had been a passenger on the “Favourite” from Fiji—purposing to engage extra hands for his ship—but had died just before reaching Port Jackson.

The “Favourite” left Port Jackson on the 14th of December, bound “for Fiji and China². ” Lockerby does not mention this visit of the “Favourite” to Port Jackson; but he does refer to the ship being in Fiji at a later date, apparently for the purpose of picking up Captain Campbell, who had remained on the “General Wellesley” during the absence of his own ship, and also for the purpose of taking in such further sandalwood as Lockerby had by then procured. Lockerby says he was handsomely paid for his services by Captain Campbell when the “Favourite” again left Fiji.

Meanwhile Lockerby who had gone backwards and forwards between Lekutu and Mbua Bays, now engaged himself with Captain Scott, who had taken over the command of the “General Wellesley,” and, after a careful inspection, took both ships with which he now had to do, the “General Wellesley” and the “Tonquin,” through what he calls ‘the Ship’s Channel³,’ or as is now called ‘the Monkey Face Channel,’ from Mbua to Lekutu Bay. Here the two ships were anchored off the then existing town of Mbobo (Na Vovo).

On the 5th of March the “Tonquin” sailed, with a full cargo, for China; and next day Lockerby set off “to sail “round the island”—of the real extent of which he then and never had the slightest conception—“to see if sandalwood was “to be obtained in any of the adjacent islands.” He reached

¹ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818.

² H.R., N.S.W. vi, 819.

³ Between Yanganga Island and the promontory of Naivaka.

Nanduri—the farthest point in that direction to which he ever attained—and, though he found sandalwood plentiful there, he determined to return to the ship, the weather breaking badly, and got back to the ship on the 12th of March.

During the rest of Lockerby's stay in Fiji, he passed backwards and forwards along the coast between Lekutu Bay and Nanduri, making at least two expeditions up the 'Emba-'gaba,' that is the Dreketi, river. During this period he was very successful in collecting sandalwood, little of which had there previously been cut. On the whole his relations with the natives in those parts were friendly, though once at least, up the Dreketi river, he and his men were threatened and barely escaped from attack. After a time he succeeded in getting the "General Wellesley" through the reef to Nanduri, the step being taken "on account of the abundance of sandal-wood there."

It was during expeditions from the ship at this time that he was an eye-witness of a case of widow-strangling, his record of which is extraordinarily full and complete. It was also at this time that he used the great knowledge which he had gained of Fijian customs and ways of thought to gain his ends by playing on the superstitious fears of the natives. It is, however, only fair to add that, having by these means got what he wanted, that was sandalwood, he seems to have paid for these goods in whale's teeth and other such currency as were of value to the Fijians.

Before the end of May, 1809, the "General Wellesley," having completed her cargo, was taken back to Lekutu, preparatory to leaving for China. It was from there that Lockerby paid a farewell visit, of an almost effusively affectionate character, to "the good old King of Mbua"; and it was from Lekutu Bay that, on the 2nd of June, 1809, that Lockerby finally left Fiji, in the "General Wellesley."

It is noteworthy that Lockerby only once records the arrival in Fiji of a sandalwood ship excepting those with which he was personally concerned. The one exception is the schooner from Port Jackson, which arrived, apparently in or about May, 1809, bringing from Haapai, in the Friendly

Islands, one of the survivors from the "Port au Prince." The schooner was almost certainly the "Mercury," Captain Richard Siddons, and the event is especially interesting in that it was on this ship, at this time, that Peter Dillon first reached Fiji. The "Trial," Captain Kable, and other ships were certainly in Fiji taking in sandalwood at this time; and the only suggestion that can be made why these are not mentioned by Lockerby, is that they all anchored and remained at Sandalwood Bay, whereas the "General Wellesley," with Lockerby on board, was some distance up the coast, at Lekutu.

Lockerby's stay in Fiji coincided with the most active period of the sandalwood trade in which several other ships which he does not mention were concerned. One of these unnoticed ships was the "Harrington," Captain William Campbell, afterwards of the "Favourite," and still later of the "Hibernia." The "Harrington's" first, and indeed only actual visit to 'Sandalwood Island' was a little earlier than Lockerby's arrival in the "Jenny." Captain Campbell, after he and his ship had been released¹ from the detention consequent on his alleged piratical action on the Coast of Peru, cleared the "Harrington" from Port Jackson on the 27th of January, 1807², nominally for China, in ballast, but proceeded instead to the Fiji Islands³, whence he took a cargo of sandalwood to China, where he procured a valuable cargo in exchange; but as he could not clear out (from China) for Port Jackson, he sailed to Malacca for that purpose, and brought the cargo to Port Jackson⁴. The "Harrington" (it was on this voyage that Samuel Patterson was picked up) arrived at Port Jackson on 31st March, 1808⁵.

Next, the "Harrington" was equipped and made ready for another sandalwood venture, but was seized, on the 16th of May, 1808, and carried off by convicts⁶. The colony ship "Pegasus," sent in pursuit, first looked in at the Bay of

¹ H.R., A. vi, 23.

² H.R., N.S.W. vi, 272.

³ The track of the "Harrington" from Port Jackson to Fiji is marked on Arrowsmith's Chart of the Fiji Islands (1814). It is the only recorded case of a sandalwood ship approaching Mbua Bay from the north-west.

⁴ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 671.

⁵ *Ibid.* 818.

⁶ *Ibid.* 671.

Islands, in New Zealand; but, not finding her quest there, went on to Fiji. Two days afterwards, a brig, supposed to be the "Harrington," hove in sight, stood in, and then, hauling her wind suddenly, went off to the eastward. The "Harrington," now really a pirate ship, and her pursuer thus briefly sighted each other, somewhere off the Fijian Islands, very shortly after Lockerby had been abandoned by the "Jenny" and had taken refuge at Mbua¹.

On the 12th of August, 1808, the "Dundee," Captain Peter Cummings, a vessel which had only recently arrived at Port Jackson with a cargo from Penang, cleared for Fiji and Prince of Wales² Island, but when only two days out was wrecked on the bar of the Hunter River.

There is obscure reference to a vessel called the "Commerce"—no Captain's name or other particulars are given, nor is there any later news of her—which cleared from Port Jackson "for Fiji and China" on the 26th of September, 1808³. This was probably the 225 ton ship, owned by Birnie and Co., of London, and captained by one of the same name, which had for some years been sealing at the Penantipodes Islands. But there was another, much smaller vessel, also called the "Commerce" belonging to Port Jackson; and it is just possible that it was this which cleared in September, 1808, for Fiji.

In May or June, 1808, the smaller "Commerce," Captain Ceronio⁴, called in at the Bay of Islands, on her way from the southern seal-fishery, and intending to go on to Fiji. Whether this intention was carried out is uncertain; but the master, Ceronio, was afterwards for a time a good deal in Fiji. His name appears in the *Sydney Gazette* of the 27th

¹ For the fate of the "Harrington" after she turned eastward, see p. 94, note 2 and 202 post. As to the "Pegasus," Mr T. Wright, Mitchell Librarian, has now very kindly supplied the information (from the *Sydney Gazette* of the 24th of July, 1808—no copy of which seems to be available in England) that the ship returned to Port Jackson on the 29th of July, 1808, in great want of provisions, after an unsuccessful cruise of nine weeks in search of the "Harrington."

² H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818-9.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Adventures of British Seamen.* (Constable's Miscellany.) Vol. iv, p. 330. The name Ceronio appears also as Ceroni and Cerenci.

of November, 1808, as among those permitted to leave the Colony in the "Trial," to join the "General Wellesley" at Fiji¹. The "Trial" left for the Islands on the 12th of January, 1809², but Ceronio seems to have sailed not by her but by the "City of Edinburgh," which left for the same destination on the 26th of January, and to have got back to Port Jackson by the "Perseverance" on the 15th of September³.

The voyage on which the "City of Edinburgh," Captain Alexander Berry, started at the end of January, 1809, taking Ceronio as passenger, proved both adventurous and disastrous. The vessel went first to the Bay of Islands, to arrange for the cutting by the natives of a cargo of spars, which were to be carried to the Cape of Good Hope, and also for a thorough overhaul of the vessel. These tasks occupied the whole of March, April and May of that year. Captain Berry then took his ship to Tongatabu, where they were well received by the natives; and then sailed on to what he calls Opuna, or Prince Edward's Island, one of the Fijis. The name Opuna represents the native name Vuna, a district at the south-western end of Taveuni, the large island lying off the southern face of Vanua Levu; Berry's alternative name of 'Prince Edward's Island' is more puzzling, and was perhaps founded on a vague recollection that Tasman, a hundred and seventy years previously, had reported land in that direction to which he had given the name Prince William's Islands. At any rate, the island at which Captain Berry now called was undoubtedly Taveuni; and Berry's is the first recorded instance of any European having set foot on that island. He and Ceronio were landed, and were hospitably entertained by the King or Chief of the place; so much so that Berry insisted on landing again the next day, with the result that he and his boat's crew were on this occasion made prisoners, and held for ransom. However, the next day they were rescued, by Ceronio according to his own account. The ship was then taken to Mbua Bay, where, according to Captain Kierumgaard of the "Perseverance," the "City of Edinburgh" was engaged in taking in sandalwood in July and August,

¹ See p. 193 *post.*

² See p. 199 *post.*

³ See p. 203 *post.*

1809. Here Ceronio transferred himself to the "Perseverance," and so got safely back to Port Jackson. But Berry sailed back to New Zealand, reaching the Bay of Islands about the end of October. For two months he was busy taking in the spars for the cutting of which he had arranged. Then he heard that, at no great distance from his own anchorage, the natives had recently seized the English ship "Boyd," Captain Thompson, and killed the crew. Berry proceeded to the scene of the tragedy, and succeeded in rescuing a woman, a boy, and two children who had escaped death. At last, on the 6th of January, 1810, the "City of Edinburgh" got away from New Zealand, with its cargo of spars for the Cape of Good Hope, but got caught in a storm, drifted near to the Straits of Magellan, and then up to Valparaiso, where it finished its voyage.

Quite at the beginning of 1809, the Colonial vessel "Perseverance," Captain Kierumgaard, while returning from Tahiti, called at Sandalwood Island, approaching it by a track which she was the first to use; she approached the group from the north-east, and, after threading the reefs off the north-western coast of Sandalwood Island, turned in at Mbua Bay. Having taken in a cargo of wood, she got back to Port Jackson on the 20th of February¹. She cleared out again for Fiji on the 27th of March², and was reported as taking in sandalwood there in July and till she left on the 8th of August, re-entering Port Jackson on the 15th of September³, bringing back Ceronio. The "Perseverance" does not seem to have visited Fiji after this.

Captain Kierumgaard reported that he had sailed from Mbua on the 18th of August leaving there not only the "City of Edinburgh" but also the East Indian ship "Hunter," Captain Robson, both being still occupied in taking in sandalwood. The "Hunter," as Captain Kable of the "Trial" had already reported, had reached Sandalwood Island on the 3rd of July⁴. At a later time Captain Robson stated, according to Dillon, that he had been in the Fiji Islands twice before his notorious visit in 1813; this visit

¹ See p. 220 *post.*

² *Ibid.*

³ See p. 203 *post.*

⁴ See p. 202 *post.*

in July, 1808, was one of these occasions, but there seems to be no record of another.

Later in this same year, and after the ships above mentioned had all cleared away from the coast, the "Hibernia," Captain William Campbell, arrived, by way of the north-eastern route, which had been followed a short time previously by the "Perseverance." In threading the reefs and islets which encumber this route, the "Hibernia" had struck on a rock and been somewhat seriously damaged; she was therefore taken to an island in Ngaloa, or as Lockerby called it Lagoto, Bay, and there hauled up for repair. Fortunately for Captain Campbell, the American ship "Hope," Captain Chase, also arrived about this time, and lay at Mbua Bay; and the "Hope's" peoples lent much aid in the repair of the "Hibernia."

During the repairs the party of London missionaries who had taken passage from Tahiti by the "Hibernia" were put on shore on the island, where there were traces of quite recent occupation 'by Americans,' or, more probably, by Lockerby and his men. The Wesleyan missionaries who reached Fiji many years afterwards, in 1835, from Australia by way of the Friendly Islands have, till now, claimed to have been the first of their profession to set foot on Fijian soil, and especially that their wives were the first white women seen in Fiji. In light of the facts now first disclosed this claim must be modified to some extent. It is true that the missionaries landed from the "Hibernia" in 1809 got to the Islands accidentally, and that during their brief stay there they had no opportunity of doing missionary work; but the fact remains, for what it may be worth, that they were the first of their craft to set foot in Fiji, and that with them were the first European women ever seen by the Fijians. The information which this party of missionaries has left on record is not very full, and not, it must be confessed, very appreciative; but it is valuable as the only known account—other than that derived from the sandalwood traders—of the Fijians, especially those of Vanua Levu, in the first decade of the nineteenth century, before these particular natives

had been much affected by Tongan influences but just after they had been irritated, as a swarm of bees is irritated, by the growing encroachments of European traders.

The "Hibernia," with the missionaries once more on board, left Fiji on the 23rd of January, 1810, and reached Port Jackson on the 17th of February—with only very little sandalwood on board. Captain Campbell, realising that the supply of sandalwood from Fiji was exhausted, reported that "the 'Hope,' though provided with all the necessary trade, "had no prospect whatever of obtaining any wood, which "appears to have been entirely cut down."

About the middle of November, 1810, the "Favourite," with Arnold Fiske as Captain, was again for five or six days at Mbua. In the Port Jackson shipping records there is no mention of this vessel having been at that port between the 14th of December, 1808, on which date she cleared for Fiji and China¹, for the voyage on which she picked up Captain Campbell from Mbua² and the 26th of August, 1811, when she is shown as having re-entered Port Jackson from China³. Possibly the shipping lists in which she should have been recorded are missing; but more probably she was not trading to Port Jackson during the period in question.

The authority for the visit in 1810 is William Mariner, the cabin-boy of the "Port au Prince"⁴, who, since the destruction of that vessel by the natives of the Haapai Islands, in November, 1806, had lived among the Friendly Islanders. Towards the end of 1810, Mariner, who had for some time been living, happily enough, on a plantation of his own, on the northern side of the island of Vavau, sighted a European ship. Nearly two years before, he had seen a ship pass by and had gone out to her. It was the "Hope," Captain Chase, of New York; and though from his canoe, Mariner saw Jeremiah Higgins and other beachcombers already on board, the Captain abruptly refused to take him, saying to Mariner: "We can't take you, young man; we have more hands than "we know what to do with"⁵." This time he was more for-

¹ H.R., N.S.W. vi, 819. ² See p. lxxxi *ante*. ³ H.R., N.S.W. vii, 593.

⁴ See p. 201 *post*.

⁵ Mariner, 2nd ed. Vol. i, p. 303.

tunate, and was most kindly received on the "Favourite," which, having on board "about ninety tons of mother-of-pearl, procured from the Society Islands, intended to make up her voyage with sandalwood from the Fiji Islands, and thence to proceed to China¹." After three days of friendly intercourse, on the ship, between Mariner and his late hosts from the shore, the "Favourite" continued her voyage, calling first at the Haapai Islands, at the very spot where, just four years previously, Mariner had begun his Tongan experiences. Here again two days were spent in friendly intercourse with the natives; and then the ship, with Mariner as a passenger, made for, and "arrived at the island of "Pau," and anchored off a place called Vooiha², famous for sandalwood, for which the Captain soon began to treat with the natives, and, before the ship's departure, laid in several tons³.

Mariner's use, in this passage, of the name 'Pau' for 'Sandalwood Island' (Vanua Levu) is interesting as probably the first instance (Arrowsmith and the chart-makers of the following decade followed him in this) of the mistaken use of the name Mbau, or Pau, for Vanua Levu. Mbau is the islet off the eastern, or south-eastern, coast of Viti Levu; but the name, in the form Ambau, was, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, somewhat indifferently used by European visitors for Viti Levu itself. At that time the islet of Mbau was only beginning to reach the importance to which it soon afterwards attained; but, about the period of Mariner's visit, its name was already current in the mouths of passing sailors as the home of the most powerful group of Fijian Chiefs. It was thus that Mariner fell into the error of using its name, in the form Pau, for Sandalwood Island (Vanua Levu) which happened to be at the moment the most important trading centre, and indeed the only part of the group at all well known to the traders.

Mariner went on shore several times during his stay of only a few days at Mbua.

¹ Mariner, 1st ed. Vol. II, pp. 21-3.

² Vooiha is obvious Mbua.

³ Mariner, 1st ed. Vol. II, p. 69.

"There were (he says) several Englishmen (or Americans) at "the island of Pau....It is much to be regretted that most of these "men were, from all report, but indifferent characters, and had "left their respective ships from no good motives; they had fre- "quent quarrels amongst themselves, in which two or three had "got murdered....The 'Favourite,' having laid in her store of "sandalwood, after five or six days stay at Pau, weighed anchor "and resumed her voyage, and, in about five weeks, arrived at "Macao."

A certificate given to Mariner by Captain Fisk, dated December, the 18th, 1810, "at an early opportunity after "arriving at Macao," serves to fix the date of his visit to Mbua Bay at from about the 14th to the 20th of November, 1810¹.

In the following year the American ship "Active," Captain W. P. Richardson, of Salem, was in Fiji. She entered at Port Jackson, from Bourbon, with general merchandise, on New Year's Day, 1811, and cleared "for the Fiji Islands in "ballast" on the 18th of February². Little further has been discovered about this voyage. But Ralph D. Paine, on the authority of the Salem records, states, in *The Ships and Sailors of Old Salem*³, that

"The first vessels of the East India Company to touch at the "Fijis made a beginning of that commerce a little more than a "hundred years ago⁴. No more than four years after their pioneer "voyage, however, Captain William Richardson in the salem bark "Active" was trading with the natives and continuing his voyage "to Canton in 1811. During the next half century the untutored "people of the Fijis pictured the map of America as consisting "mostly of a place called Salem, whose ships and sailors were "seldom absent from their palm-fringed beaches."

In his index (p. 511) Mr Paine further refers to Captain Richardson of the "Active" as "the first American trader in "the Fijis." The statement seems to require some qualification, though it may be true that Captain Richardson, originally going to the Fiji Islands in 1811, when the sandalwood trade was nearly at an end, was the first of the American traders

¹ Mariner's *Tonga* (1817 ed.), Vol. II, p. 73.

² H.R., N.S.W. VII, 518. ³ p. 406.

⁴ This seems to refer to the voyage of the "Duchess of York," Captain Forrest, in 1807 (see p. lvi *ante*).

who after the sandalwood was exhausted carried on occasional and desultory trade with the natives for beche-de-mer and other minor products of the islands.

Later in the same year (1811) the American ship "Sally," Captain R. C. Field, of Boston, entered at Port Jackson on the 26th of August, from the Isle of France, with General merchandise, and cleared two months later (21st of October) for 'the Feegees' and China, in ballast¹. There can be little doubt that the "Sally" was in quest of sandalwood; for at that period no other commodity was known to be obtainable from Fiji, unless it was a few bags of beche-de-mer, the value of which for the Chinese market was beginning to be recognised. There is, however, a noteworthy passage in Otto von Kotzebue's journal of his voyage in the Russian ship "Rurik," in 1815-18, which can hardly refer to any other ship than the "Sally." Kotzebue writes²

"Captain Door (with the Jenny from Boston) touched at "Guahon (Guam) in 1808, after having taken in a cargo of "sanders-wood in the Fidji islands. He praised to Don Luis de "Torres the kind and hospitable reception he had met with from "the natives. In 1812 he made the same voyage in another ship. "On his return he told Don Luis how hostilely he had been "received this time, and that he had lost a mate and four sailors. "The natives told him that in the course of time they had become "acquainted with the whites, and had resolved to show no mercy "to them."

This second visit by Captain Dorr, formerly of the "Jenny," to Fiji was almost certainly on the "Sally," which was the only ship, American or other, to seek sandalwood in Fiji in 1812³; and his account of the attitude of the natives at the time of this second visit is obviously true. His alleged "loss "of a mate and four seamen" on this second visit must be

¹ H.R., N.S.W. VII, 593.

² *Voyage of Discovery into the South Sea and Beering's Straits...in the Years 1815-1818 in the Ship Rurick* (English translation, 1821), Vol. III, pp. 257-8.

³ It may here be noted that the *Sydney Gazette* (No. 663) of 3rd August, 1816, records the death of Captain William Dorr. "From Captain Dorr of the 'Ontario,' whose arrival we last week mentioned...we learn "the death of the Captain of his own name who commanded the 'Jenny' "in her voyage hither in 1808."

due to a misunderstanding either by Don Luis—at that time Governor of Guam—or by Kotzebue.

Lockerby's subsequent statement that after his time two ships were sent to the Fiji islands for sandalwood¹ (cf. below) may not improbably refer to the two American ships, the "Active" and the "Sally," both from Boston.

The next year, 1813, is memorable for the visit of the East Indian ship "Hunter," Captain James Robson, having with him Peter Dillon; for this visit led to an affray with the natives of Wailea so serious that it finally put an end to the already dwindling chance of successful trade for sandalwood with the Fijians. Sixteen years after the tragic event, Dillon told of it in the narrative of his discovery of the fate of La Perouse's expedition—which discovery resulted from this adventure at Wailea². Moreover, only two months after the event Dillon, at Port Jackson, had made a formal deposition as to the facts of the case.

The "Hunter" left Port Jackson on the 24th of December, 1812, and after calling at Norfolk Island, where Dillon was found and engaged as 3rd officer³, reached 'Ilai' (which is Dillon's version of the name Wailea) on the 19th of the following February. Dillon recounts that he

"had before visited the Beetee Islands (commonly called Fejee Islands) in 1809, on the *Mercury*, Captain Siddons, and remained among them four months, associating very much with the natives, and making considerable progress in learning their language."

He also says that Captain Robson had been there twice before⁴,

"and had obtained considerable influence over the natives of a part of the Sandal-wood coast, by joining them in their wars,

¹ See p. 79 and note, *post*.

² *Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the Actual Fate of La Perouse's Expedition.* (London: 1829.) Vol. I, pp. 1-31. The deposition on the same subject is printed in the *Historical Records of Australia*, Vol. VIII, pp. 103-7. ³ H.R., A. VIII, 103-4.

⁴ No trace of any previous visit by Captain Robson to Fiji other than that in 1809 (see p. lxxxvi *ante*) has been discovered; but it is possible that he was in the Islands in a ship of which he was not in command.

"and assisting them to destroy their enemies, who were cut up, "baked, and eaten in his presence. The native chief with whom "he was most intimate was Bonasar, of the town of Vilear (Wailea) "and its dependences in the interior."

Before reaching Wailea, the "Hunter" "grounded on a "reef off Louthou¹; during the time of being so aground, "she lost her false keel, and sustained other material damage." On reaching Wailea, the ship was anchored at "a distance "of a quarter of a mile from a small river that led to the "town," which was about a mile or a mile and a half from the anchorage. The ground between the anchorage and the town of Wailea was thickly covered with mangroves except near the town, where the ground was slightly higher and clear of bush. This was the position of the ship during the whole of her stay, and such was the scene of the subsequent tragedy.

Before the anchor was well down, Chiefs and priests came on board, to welcome Captain Robson as an old friend, and bringing news that the neighbouring native towns which had been captured, with the Captain's assistance, during his previous visit had again revolted, and, "being joined by the "powerful tribes who resided on the banks of a large river, "called Nanpacab², had waged furious war against Wailea." The visiting Chiefs added that it was impossible to obtain sandalwood till this powerful alliance was put down by force of musketry, and ended with the request to the Captain to join in a new campaign.

At first, Captain Robson refused this request; but, very little sandalwood having been brought in by the end of March, and the Wailea folk promising, in return for his help, to fill the ship with sandalwood within two months after their enemies should have been conquered, he at last consented. The expedition set out for the island of Nanpacab, situated about six miles up the river of the same name. It consisted of three armed boats carrying twenty musketeers, with a two-pound cannon mounted in one of these boats, and

¹ "Louthou" must be the little bay three miles east from Suva, now called Lauthala.

² "Nanpacab," Lockerby's 'Embagaba,' is the Ndreketi River (see p. 62, note 1 *post*).

forty-six large native canoes, carrying near a thousand armed Fijians, while three thousand more marched overland to the scene of action. The Nanpacab river was entered on the 4th of April, and for fifteen miles up its course the native folk were driven away, their crops destroyed, and their homes burnt. After this, the expedition returned to the "Hunter," which was reached on the eighth of April.

Early in May, the "Hunter" was joined, as had been arranged, by her tender, the cutter "Elizabeth," one Ballard being master, and a few days later, the European and other beachcombers who had by then settled at Mbau, including Charles Savage, came over to the ship from Mbau, and were engaged by Captain Robson to work in his boats.

But, the Waileans bringing in sandalwood only very slowly, there was little work for the boat-hands to do on the ship, and these were therefore taken over and placed at "a place "called Camba, near the island of Bow, to procure beche-de-mer¹." Kamba Point is a narrow peninsula, though it looks like an island, three miles long and only half a mile wide, which runs out from the south-eastern corner of Viti Levu, not far from the islet of Mbau, and also not far from the Lauthala reef on which the "Hunter" had grounded just before she reached Wailea. It should be noted that the "Hunter" is the first European ship recorded as having approached and touched at the south-eastern corner of Viti Levu: also, that this camp of beche-de-mer hunters is the first known instance of Europeans, other than the few beachcombers who got to Mbau from wrecks on the Lau Islands, remaining, even for a brief period, anywhere on the mainland of Viti Levu.

From May to the end of August "only a hundred and fifty "tons of sandalwood," Dillon says, "were procured from the "natives—not more than a third of a cargo"; and when Robson grumbled he was told that the trees had all been cut down. After this the Wailean Chiefs kept away from the ship, and the rift between them and Captain Robson became more and more marked.

¹ H.R., A. viii, 104.

Early in September Captain Robson went up the coast to 'Mudwater'¹, the tender "Elizabeth," having heard that there was there a large quantity of sandalwood, cut and ready for the ship; but on reaching the place he found only three boat-loads of the wood. While at Mudwater, he was overtaken by Charles Savage, who had helped in getting beche-de-mer at Kamba, and now came, in a Mbau canoe, with a message from Mr Norman, the 1st mate of the "Hunter," which seems to have included a warning that the natives were plotting to seize the "Elizabeth." Thereupon, Robson sent seven of the Waileans whom he had brought with him back to the ship, in a canoe, with instructions to the Chief Mate Norman to keep them on board, as hostages; one other of these Waileans he kept with him. Soon after, he ordered the "Elizabeth," to be got ready for return to the ship. The return journey had hardly been begun, when a large number of canoes, all fully manned and armed, was encountered. These canoes were attacked from the "Elizabeth," one native was killed, fourteen or sixteen others were made prisoners, and the canoes were all destroyed, with the exception of four which were given up to a 'Mian Boor' (Mbua) Chief who was understood to have been innocent of the plot to seize the "Elizabeth."

Soon after this, Robson, while continuing his return journey, received a letter from Mr Norman, to the effect that on the day on which he wrote he had been ashore at Wailea, and had burnt part of the town and had killed some of the people.

About the time that Captain Robson got back to the "Hunter," two large canoes, on which were between two and three hundred natives, came across from Mbau, to fetch back the Europeans from that island who had been working with the "Hunter's" men since May.

Robson, thinking this a favourable opportunity, determined to heave down the "Elizabeth," to repair damage to her bottom sustained during the recent expedition; but, remembering the increasing hostility of the Wailea folk, thought it well to guard against attack from the shore by seizing the

¹ Mathuata.

rest of their canoes. For this purpose, all the Europeans from the ships, and those from Mbau, were sent ashore, under command of mate Norman; the young Irish giant, Peter Dillon, being second in command. Some of the Mbauan Chiefs and their retainers were also included in the expedition.

Soon after landing, the armed party unwisely scattered, and were almost immediately ambushed by the Waileans, a few of whom, and almost all of the party from the ships, being killed.

Peter Dillon, with the survivors of his party, including Charles Savage, a Chinaman named Luis, who, like Savage, had been in the "Eliza" at the time of the wreck, a German named Martin Bushart—these two last-named having come across from Mbau—and two of the "Hunter's" crew, contrived to get up on to a small but steep rock, from which, across the little plain, now crowded with revengeful Waileans, they could distinctly see the "Hunter" lying at the anchorage.

"From this elevated situation (Dillon afterwards wrote) we "had a clear view of the landing-place, the boats at anchor, "waiting our return, the two Bow canoes, and the ship. The "plain which surrounded the rock was covered with the armed "savages, assembled from all parts of the coast, amounting to "several thousands, who had been in ambush waiting for us to land."

These 'savages,' Dillon adds, or such of them as were not engaged in parleying with the party perched on the rock, were busied in preparing ovens in which to cook the bodies of those already killed, and, as they boasted, of the party only momentarily safe on top of the rock.

Dillon, remembering the eight Wailea men who had been captured at Mathuata and sent on to the "Hunter" as hostages, persuaded the head priest, who was with the 'savages' below, to allow Thomas Daffney, already wounded, to carry a message to Captain Robson, requesting him to release four of these hostages, and to send these four men, with a large present of whale's teeth and cutlery, and to promise to release the other four as soon as the party on the rock should have been allowed to return safely to the ship.

After a time, while waiting for the result of this message, Charles Savage, seeing some former friends among the Wailea folk, and believing that these would not allow the threats of eating him which were being shouted up from the plain to be carried out, ventured down among them. Dillon saw that Savage was at first well received by the Chiefs, one of whom—it was 'Bonasar,' formerly mentioned as having been "the most intimate friend" of Captain Robson—called up to Dillon, "Come down, Peter, we will not hurt "you; you see we do not hurt Charley." Dillon refused to be cajoled; but Luis, the Chinaman, less wise, crept secretly down from the rock, to join Savage. Instantly the Waileans raised a great shout, clubbed Luis, seized Savage by the legs and held him head-downward in a pool of water till he was suffocated. Dillon next saw the bodies of both victims cut up and put in ovens already prepared¹.

Dillon, having now only Bushart and the sailor Martin with him, was again actively attacked from below.

"Having (he says) four muskets between three of us, two "always remained loaded; for Wilson being a bad shot, we kept "him loading the muskets, while Martin Bushart and I fired them "off. Bushart had been a rifleman in his own country, and was "an excellent marksman. He shot twenty-seven of the cannibals "with twenty-eight discharges, only missing once. I also killed "and wounded a few of them, in self defence. Finding they could "not conquer us without a great sacrifice on their part, they kept "off and vowed vengeance."

Just before dark, Dillon from the rock saw the boat which had taken his messenger to Captain Robson put off from the ship; and saw that, despite the warning sent to the Captain, all eight hostages were landed.

"I could not (he says) imagine how the Captain could have "acted in this strange way, as the only hope presented of our "being spared was by allowing a part of the prisoners to land,

¹ The traditions as to Charles Savage's life at Mbau, in the form in which these were still current in Fiji about 1881 were gathered together in a scarce little book entitled Brett's *Guide to Fiji* (p. 37), printed at Auckland, N.Z., in that year. Sir Basil Thomson has also dealt, more seriously, with the subject in his *South Sea Yarns* (published in 1894).

“who would of course intercede with their friends on shore to “save us, that we might in return protect their countrymen when “we returned to the ship.”

Abandoning all hope, Dillon and his companions determined to shoot themselves as soon as it was dark.

But the eight released hostages were now brought up to the rock by the priest, with a message from Captain Robson that he had sent his prisoners, and had also sent a present of cutlery, ironmongery, etc., to the Chiefs, and that Dillon and his companion were to give up their muskets to the priest, who would then see them safely on board.

Dillon promptly refused to part with his musket, and, while the priest was trying to persuade Bushart to surrender his weapon, made up his mind to practise the same stratagem as that by which Lockerby had got himself out of a similar difficulty on the ‘Embagaba’ river in 1809.

Dillon presented his musket at the priest’s head, telling him he would be shot if he attempted to escape, and ordered him to proceed to the boat at the landing-place; and warning him also that he would be shot if any violence were offered by the natives.

“The priest (Dillon says) proceeded as directed, and as we “passed along through the multitude, he exhorted them to sit “down, and upon no account to molest Peter or his countrymen, “because if they attempted to hurt us, he (the priest) would be “shot, and they of course must be aware that they would conse- “quently incur the wrath of the gods in the clouds, who would “be angry at their disobedience of the divine orders, and cause “the sea to rise and swallow up the island with all its inhabitants.”

The ruse succeeded, all the natives sitting quietly on the grass, while through their midst passed the procession from the rock, the priest leading, “with the muzzles of Bushart “and Wilson’s muskets at each of his ears, while Dillon’s “muzzle was between his shoulders.” In this way Dillon and his two companions safely regained the ship.

The next day, 7th of September, 1813, after Dillon had pulled along the shore, trying vainly to bargain with the Wailea folk for the bones of some of his late companions,

the "Hunter" and the "Elizabeth," of which last named vessel Dillon was now placed in command, left for China. Martin Bushart and a lascar named Joe, unwilling to be left behind in Fiji after all that had recently occurred, were taken on to the "Elizabeth." The two ships sailed westward in company, till, on the 20th of September, an island which the natives called Tucopia was sighted; and on this island Bushart and the lascar were left, at their own request. The next day, an island, which was afterwards identified as Mannicolo, or Vannicolo, was sighted. Here the ships parted company, the "Hunter" going to China, and the "Elizabeth" to Port Jackson.

Dillon heard nothing of Bushart after this till, in May 1826, when, as Captain and owner of the ship "St Patrick," he happened again to touch at Tucopia, where he again met his companion from the rock at Wailea, and from Bushart gleaned information which led to the discovery of the site of the wreck of La Perouse's ships, on Mannicolo.

No one, during the first half of the nineteenth century, sailed backwards and forwards across the South Seas more widely than Peter Dillon—"Peter" as the Fijians called him—and no one can have gathered more information as to the innumerable islands of those seas and their inhabitants; and no one, of anything like his competence, has left fewer available records of his knowledge¹. With the considerable exception of his narrative of the successful voyage to discover the fate of La Perouse's ships, and of a few letters and notes scattered through certain rarely accessible journals he has left nothing on record. It is true that in his one book above-mentioned, which was published in 1829, he says², "It is "here necessary to observe, that I am now preparing a com- "plete history of the Beetee Islands, from its first discovery "to A.D. 1825, which will describe the manners, customs, &c.

¹ Notes on Dillon's life, vivid enough but ill-arranged, form the main subject of Captain George Bayly's *Sea-Life sixty Years Ago*, written and published in 1885. About sixty years previously Bayly was trading officer of Dillon's ship, the "St Patrick," at the time of the discovery of the traces of the wreck of La Perouse's ships.

² Vol. I, p. 31.

“of these people, and also account for the persons taken off “in the *Hunter*”; but, despite diligent search, no trace of any such book or manuscript has been discovered.

The anchorage at Wailea Bay, which by that time had taken the place of Mbua as the only centre at, and from which the sandalwood trade could be worked, having become dangerous, owing to Captain Robson’s escapade, it is somewhat remarkable that, only ten months after that occurrence, Captain Richard Siddons, formerly of the “Mercury,” should have cleared the brig “Campbell Macquarie” from Port Jackson, on the 17th of July, 1814, “for the Feejees, “with the design of procuring sandalwood, or whatsoever “else might promise an advantage to the voyage¹.” Captain Siddons had with him on this occasion Oliver Slater, as Chief Mate; and among the many persons advertised as about to leave in the ship “two Feejee women” are mentioned.

Apparently Siddons was not very well assured of being well received at Wailea. He first touched at ‘Walker’s ‘Island,’ on the extreme west of the Fiji group² where he had heard that sandalwood was to be had; but finding only a dye-wood which he thought of little commerical value, he seems next to have made for the Palmerston Islands—far away to the east of the Fiji group—whence he doubled back to Tongatabu, and so got to Koro, where he was at no great distance from Wailea.

He reached Koro only on the 23rd of September, being then more than two months out from Port Jackson. Two days later, still in a cautious mood, he dispatched a boat, under command of Oliver Slater, to Wailea, probably to ascertain the temper of the natives, and the prospect of doing good business with them. But, the wind being foul, Slater tied up for the night at the island of ‘Mo-ee-kana’ (Mokongai). Slater himself, with three of the boat’s crew and a Sandwich Islander named Bubbahae, went ashore for the night, taking the two Fijian women with him, but leaving the other two sailors in the boat. About midnight Bubbahae

¹ See p. 203 *post.*

² See p. 213 *post.*

returned to the boat, and reported that there was mischief going on ashore; and soon after one of the three sailors who had gone with Slater was seen running towards the boat, but followed and killed by the natives before he reached the shore. Next the natives from the shore attacked the boat, but the two sailors and the Sandwich Islander got it away, and returned to the ship, at Koro, where they reported, as indeed turned out to be the fact, that Slater and the rest of the party had been killed.

Whether after this the "Campbell Macquarie" was taken to Wailea or whether the wood was brought by natives from the Sandalwood coast to Koro is uncertain; but when the ship reached Port Jackson six months after the Mokongai occurrence, she had on board forty-nine and a half tons of sandalwood¹—the last considerable lot of this wood that ever reached Port Jackson from Fiji. Oliver Slater, who originated the trade, was concerned also in its end.

It was after Siddons's return to Port Jackson on this occasion, that the "Campbell Macquarie," of which he was still master, sailed on Wednesday, the 25th of July, 1815, for Bengal, by way of Torres Straits², in company with the "Indefatigable," on which Dr Joseph Allen was a passenger, to whom Siddons related many strange tales of Fiji, mostly true—though it is difficult to believe that he was as much in the Fiji Islands as he represented.

Almost simultaneously with this last sandalwood venture to Fiji, Captain William Campbell, formerly of the "Harrington," the "Favourite," and the "Hibernia," was seeking for this wood further afield, in the islands more to the east. In February, 1815, Captain Campbell, then of the "Governor Macquarie," reached Port Jackson from the Society Islands and the Marquesas, "with a cargo of sandalwood computed "at fifty-nine tons, and a quantity of iron, copper, etc., "procured from wrecks at the Marquesas³." This makes a

¹ H.R., A. viii, p. 591. The *Sydney Gazette* says about sixty tons, see p. 212 *post*.

² *Sydney Gazette*, No. 607, of 15 July, 1815 (not printed).

³ See p. 210 *post*.

curious connecting link between the stories of maritime adventure from Port Jackson and that very remarkable adventure in which Captain David Porter, of the American frigate "Essex," as an incident in the war of 1814, seized most of the British ships which happened to be whale-fishing and trading in the eastern parts of the Pacific, and piled most of these up as a heap of wreckage on the Marquesan beaches.

But one more incident in the story of the Fiji sandalwood trade remains to be told. The *Sydney Gazette*, No. 1111, of the 3rd of March, 1825, refers to a much later visit, during which a small quantity of sandalwood was obtained, by Peter Dillon, at that time captain and owner of the brig "Calder," in January, 1825.

"Captain Dillon (it is said) returned (to Port Jackson) on Friday last (25th of February, 1825), having been absent from this port on his late trip twenty months and eight days. This old commander out of Australia has visited, in that interim, all the islands from the Pallisers down to New Caledonia....The 'Calder' remained among the Feejees three weeks, during which time Captain Dillon experienced the utmost attention and kindness."

Dillon himself, in a letter "to the Editor of the Bengal 'Hurkaru'¹," incidentally gives some account of this visit. After alluding to the first visit of a sandalwood ship, the "Fair American" in 1804, he wrote

"The sandalwood is confined to one island, which was much frequented by American ships, and a few vessels from Calcutta, Penang, and Port Jackson, from the above period to 1812. The 'Hunter' sailed from there in 1813, having procured but little sandalwood. After the 'Hunter's' departure the islands were not visited till 1819, at which time two American vessels, within a short period of each other, touched there². After their de-

¹ Printed in the *Calcutta Government Gazette*, No. 594 (Vol. XII), October 16th, 1826.

² It is noteworthy, but perhaps only by coincidence, that both Lockerby and Dillon independently mention two American ships having visited the Fiji Islands after the close of the active period of the sandalwood trade. It has already been suggested (see p. xcii *ante*) that Lockerby referred to the "Active" and the "Sally," in 1814, but Dillon's statement specifically relates to visits of two ships in 1819.

“parture the islands were not visited until January, 1825, at which time I anchored in the ‘Calder,’ in Sandalwood Bay, and after a stay of three weeks procured about 500 lbs. of sandalwood; whereas I had in the same space of time in 1808 procured a hundred and fifty tons of that valuable wood....I sailed from Sandalwood Bay (Mbua Bay) late in January for the New Hebrides, and in a few days anchored at Port Resolution in the Island of Tanna. It appeared to me that no ship had been there since Captain Cook left it, I believe in 1773. I found two or three small pieces of sandalwood among those people. They informed me by signs and gestures that there was none on their Island, which they called *Ittien*, but that on the neighbouring Island of Erromango, there was abundance¹.”

One important result of the visits of sandalwood ships to the Fijian Islands was the production by Aaron Arrowsmith, in 1814², of the first approximately correct chart of a part of the group, “constructed from original documents.” This chart, as originally published, is reproduced, by courtesy of Sir John Parry, late Hydrographer of the Navy, from the only copy of this first edition hitherto discovered. On this chart, instead of the fragmentary indications of some of the smaller outlying islands and of a very few of the more outstanding parts of the main islands, a fairly complete plan of the islands and reefs lying along the routes of the sandalwood ships from Tongatabu to Mbua Bay, and from the north-eastern part of the group to the same Bay, is shown. It shows—but apparently not very accurately—the track along which Captain Bligh, in 1792, in the “Providence,” which skirted the more southerly edge of the group; and, with somewhat greater accuracy, it shows the track by which Captain Wilson, in 1796, in the “Duff,” passed through the

¹ Dillon’s last few words above quoted are interesting as being probably the first hint of the occurrence of sandalwood in the New Hebrides, to which the whole trade in this commodity, as far as the South Seas were concerned eventually drifted. (See Erskine’s *Journal of a cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific*, London, 1843, *passim*.)

² Krusenstern is almost certainly mistaken in giving the date of first publication of this chart as 1811; see his *Mémoires Hydrographiques* (St Petersburg, 1824, Vol. I, pp. 230-5): also his remarks “sur la carte des Iles Fidjje” at pp. 70-6 of the supplement to the *Mémoires* (St Petersburg, 1835).

eastern islands of the group. But the more important of the tracks shown are those of the sandalwood ships "Harrington," "Hibernia," and especially the "Elizabeth." Moreover, the fact that the inset, giving in detail the soundings within Mbua Bay, which purport to have been made by the "Elizabeth" in 1808, affords further evidence that it was from the sandalwood ships that Arrowsmith got most of the information on which he constructed this chart.

It seems probable that the chart which Lockerby claims to have made, and of which, he says, he sold several copies, may have been among the original documents used by Arrowsmith. Indeed the date 1808 on the Mbua inset, and the attribution to the Port Jackson ship "Elizabeth," on which there was almost certainly a survey officer (see p. *lv ante*) and the American ship "Jenny" were both on the Mbua coast at the time in question, and were in frequent, though hostile, communication with each other, suggests that both ships may have claimed the credit for the same survey work.

The 1814 chart being thus, in the main, due to the experiences of the sandalwood traders, it is interesting to note that Arrowsmith, the first cartographer to place the largest island of the group—Viti Levu; but, following Lockerby (see p. 70, *n. 2*) and other sandalwood traders in this, he calls it 'Ambow'—shows only a part, the north-eastern part of the big island. This part is practically that which was first seen by Captain Barber of the snow "Arthur" in 1794, secondly by Captain Bentley of the "Ann and Hope" in 1799, and later, by the missionaries on the "Hibernia" in 1809. It is evident that Arrowsmith in 1814 knew nothing of the islet to which the name Mbau (or Ambau) properly belongs; for the few beachcombers who had gathered there between 1800 and 1813 had no wish to let it be known where they were. As a matter of fact, Peter Dillon and his shipmates who collected *beche-de-mer* round Kamba Point, not far from Mbau, in 1813, were probably the first white men, except the above-mentioned beachcombers, to set foot on the eastern shore of the mainland of Viti Levu.

The copy of the Arrowsmith chart of 1814 here reproduced is that which was used on H.M.S. "Victor," Captain R. Crozier, on the occasion of that ship's visit to Mbau in 1835; and the red surcharge—faithfully shown in the present reproduction—is that which was placed on that copy by the navigating officer of the "Victor," and serves to show such corrections of Arrowsmith's chart as were ascertained during that voyage, memorable as that of the first warship to approach the islet of Mbau.

Something must here be said—though it is impossible to deal thoroughly with the matter—as to some of the circumstances here recorded which should be of special interest to the student on anthropology. Lockerby's, and to some extent Patterson's accounts of what they saw, while living, intimately, among the coast-dwelling Fijians—neither seems at any time to have come into touch with the ruder hill-tribes—at a time when the considerable but peculiar culture which these so-called 'savages' had attained for themselves, had hardly yet been at all influenced by contact with men of western civilisation, are of especial interest, as having been spontaneously recorded, in their own words. In this one respect, and in this only, Lockerby's and Patterson's stories have some advantage over Mariner's account of the Tongans, admirably elicited and recorded by an editor of the literary and scientific ability of Dr John Martin.

The first thing to be noted is that the Fijians dwelling on the coasts of Vanua Levu, and on some of the smaller islands, were not 'savages,' in that originally they were not ill-disposed towards strangers, and that, according to their way of thinking, they were not cruel, and that they became 'savage' only in self-defence and under stress of circumstances.

Due allowance being made for the great difference in habit of thought between the Fijian and the European, it is evident that strangers were received hospitably. The sandalwood traders were treated as friends as long as they behaved themselves with due respect to the rights and feelings of the high-bred Fijians with whom they dealt. Lockerby and his men when left alone and entirely in the power of the Fijians

were treated as honoured guests, Lockerby as a Chief, his men as 'commoners.' Much the same is true of the treatment by the natives of the island of Nairai of the survivors from the wreck of the "Eliza." It is true that in this last-named case, the European survivors, according to Patterson, were stripped almost to the skin; but this meant no more than that the islanders reduced the clothes of their visitors to that which they thought proper for themselves. Moreover, the Nairai folk in their subsequent treatment of the men from the "Eliza" seem to have acted on the same instinct, of treating their visitors, so long as these were not hostile, as they treated themselves. The Islanders allowed the Captain and his Officers, as being of chiefly rank, to go, in the "Eliza's" boat, in search of a white man's ship known to be not far off; and they allowed the sailors who remained behind 'free board and lodging' such as their own commoners enjoyed.

No instance is mentioned of a Fijian of one tribe coming in a certainly peaceable way among another tribe; but Patterson mentions one case¹ of a Fijian of another tribe, with which his hosts were at war, coming to Nairai while he was living there; and he says that this man, but only after some discussion, was clubbed, being regarded as a spy, and was eaten. It may be inferred that Patterson gathered that if the stranger had not been regarded as a spy, he would not have been killed.

On the subject of cannibalism, as practised by even the cultured Fijians, important light is incidentally thrown both by Lockerby and Patterson. In this case, perhaps more than in any other of an analogous kind, it is essential to try to see the matter from the Fijian's point of view. The Fijians were essentially vegetarians; and though they eat much fish this was only as a concomitant to their vegetable diet. Under what circumstances did they consume human flesh? Lockerby writes of the Fijians with whom he was acquainted as "a race 'of cannibals'" (see p. 19 *post*); but elsewhere he says that they eat no flesh except that of prisoners taken in battle

¹ See p. 108 *post*.

(p. 22), and that during his first nine months among them—that is, until the affair at Tavea—he saw no human flesh eaten. At a later period of his stay among them, after the sacking of Tavea and Tathilevu, he witnessed orgies of cannibalism; but in all cases the bodies eaten were those of war victims. Again, in speaking of the building of the fort and other preparations by the Mbuans for an expected siege, he says that “the bodies of their enemies and certain vegetable substances so prepared as to remain fit for food when stored within the fort were the only food they had to live on in time of war, the provisions outside having generally been destroyed by the besiegers” (see p. 19 *post*). The fact that Lockerby makes no mention of having seen any sign of cannibalism during the time of his residence at Mbua—a time of peace—is some negative evidence that the butchering of inoffensive persons, or even of malefactors, was not practised, at any rate, at Mbua.

Patterson says that “these savages are cannibals, and eat the bodies of their own malefactors, and all those of their ‘prisoners’” (p. 100); but, except in the one case above mentioned, of the stranger Chief, killed and eaten because believed to be a spy, he nowhere mentions having witnessed any act of cannibalism. The remark, which he quotes, of the Nairai folk who, when he was lying ill, felt his flesh, and then said “White man good to eat” was probably nothing more than banter.

The fact seems to be that these Fijians, owing to the exceptional and long continued seclusion of their ancestors from other races, had evolved a culture, on peculiar lines, but without recognising any such considerable difference between human and non-human beings as is implied in such phrases as “the dignity of man,” the “value of human life,” and so on. To them a man seemed as any other animal, and was admired or feared according as he appeared harmless, or even helpful, or harmful and dangerous. They had conceived no reason why a man, for instance a dead man, when once within their power, should not be eaten as any other animal might be; and they had no more instinctive

horror of eating human than any other flesh as food. They called it *bokolo*.

Even the horrible and unnatural cruelty, as it appears to us, of the Fijians, in killing the defenceless old men, women and children after the warrior class had escaped from the sack of Tavea, would assume a different aspect if only we could, for the moment, assume the ideas of the Fijian perpetrators. Without going back to the mental attitude of the birds and beasts which quite naturally, when they have the chance, kill such enemies as they have reason to fear, and even such of their own kin as had become an encumbrance to them, it is only necessary to turn to the Old Testament to find plenty of instances—approved instances—of folk still untouched by a sense of kindness, love, and respect for human dignity, urged by their instincts, and even by their priests, utterly to destroy their enemies.

Of other so-called 'savage' traits herein recorded of the early Fijians two especially deserve attention: the custom of widow-strangling—of which Lockerby gives a more complete account than is elsewhere to be found—and the custom of killing—generally also effected by strangling, and sometimes even self-inflicted—of those who, by reason of sickness or age, were deemed useless. In both these cases, as in that of cannibalism, the explanation is to be found, at least partly, in the light of the primitive and simple ideas of the Fijians as to the nature of death, and in their curious insensibility to bodily pain.

Attention may here be called to a note by the Native Magistrate Ilai Motonithothoka, who has already been quoted (p. 63 *ante*) in connection with the tradition of the first arrival among them of white men. He says¹, with reference to "a wasting sickness" introduced by the "Argo":

"Now our fathers have told us that when they caught the *lila* "their legs felt light to them, and when they walked they reeled "about, and fell down, and where they fell they lay. And they "also said, 'Not many died from the disease, but only those who

¹ *Report of Commission on Decrease of Native Population*, Appendix I, p. 1.

“‘were strangled (*yatemba*) by their friends.’ And it is said that “from the time of the *lila* the practice of strangling persons who “had lain ill for a long time began, and it was called *yatemba*, “but the practice of strangling widows to the ‘manes’ of their “husbands (*loloku ni mate*) was a very old one. The *loloku* is “quite distinct from the *yatemba*, they are in no way the same. “Thus it became the custom of our ancestors in Fiji to strangle “those who had been long suffering from some infectious sick-“ness, and the custom only ceased with the introduction of “Christianity¹.”

The above note seems to throw some light upon the strange Fijian custom, as it seems to us, of bringing to an end their own lives, or those of their nearest kinsfolk, when for any reason, such as sickness, old age, or, in the case of widows, the supposed duty of accompanying their late husbands into the spirit world, life was no longer worth having. The usual and almost universal method of effecting this was by strangling—by the rope of *taba* drawn tight round the neck—or by getting themselves buried alive. Either process generally required the assistance of others; and the giving of such assistance was a quite friendly and natural act—almost a duty; and the patient looked to receive such assistance with as little hesitation as the still active friends had in giving it.

If any of the wrecked sailors from the “*Argo*” were strangled (there is no certainty that any were so dealt with) there was no more hostility on the part of the islanders of Loa involved in this than these were in the habit of showing towards their own kinsfolk; and, a few years later, when Samuel Patterson lay sick to death, as he thought, at Nairai, the taunts which he supposed his native hosts and hostesses hurled at him may well have been but kindly meant invitations

¹ According to Hazlewood's *Dictionary*, *yate* is ‘the liver,’ *yate dei* is ‘courageous’; and *kana yate dei* is the opposite of courageous, *i.e.* ‘fearful’ or ‘terrified.’ The idea seems to be that the liver is the seat of courage, that *yate dei* (*dei* meaning ‘firm’ or ‘steadfast’), means ‘a steadfast ‘courage,’ and that the liver once eaten away (*kana* is the verb ‘to eat’), courage gives place to despair of life.

The meaning of *ai loloku ni mate* is given by Hazlewood as “anything “done out of grief or respect for the dead as strangling of friends.”

to him to end his troubles, and theirs by passing over into the spirit world.

Again, as to the widows, it was an act of faith on their part to follow their dead husbands, and it was pure kindness on the part of their friends to draw the tapa rope tight round their necks.

It is indeed difficult for folk of western civilisation to appreciate the mental attitude of folk of purely natural culture; but the attempt to get such understanding of our dark-skinned fellow subjects is of great Imperial importance; and such documents as Lockerby's *Journal*, read in connection with the other papers hereto attached, surely affords valuable and somewhat unusual opportunity for such study.

It remains only to record my thanks to those who have chiefly and most generously assisted me in unravelling the forgotten story disclosed in this volume.

Foremost of these must certainly be reckoned my late friend Bolton Glanvill Corney, who, until his recent and most deeply regretted death, constantly put at my service the unique knowledge of island affairs which he had gained not only by his long and devoted service, latterly as Chief Medical Officer, in the Fijian Islands, but also by his unsurpassed habit of delving into South Sea literature. Among other of my friends and former colleagues in the Islands, very special mention must be made of Mr A. B. Brewster, of the late Mr C. R. Swayne, and of Mr Kenneth Allardyce; and, though his distinguished service in the Islands long ante-dated mine, I feel greatly indebted to Sir Basil Thomson, K.C.B. I am also deeply indebted for constant help to Ratu Joseva Sukuna.

Mr G. T. Macaw, Director of the recent Trigonometrical Survey of Vanua Levu, has most kindly supplied me with notes on the topography of the 'Sandalwood Coast.'

Miss Gardner King, whose work in and for Fiji almost entitles her to rank as a graduate of Fiji, has been most kind and generous in providing the beautiful and most carefully

drawn illustrations. Her reconstruction of a Fijian war-canoe, no example of which is known now to exist, is worthy of special attention.

To Professor H. H. Turner, F.R.S. and to Dr Andrew Crommelin, of the Greenwich Royal Observatory, I am greatly indebted for the identification of the Great Comet of 1799-1800 as that which serves to date the beginnings of Fijian modern history.

To Sir Josiah Symon, of Manoah, Upper Sturt, for constant kindness in procuring for me information as to details of early Australian history; to Mr Wright, Mitchell Librarian, for similar service; and to Mr W. S. Holden of Liverpool, for great help in tracing the final residence and place of death of William Lockerby, I owe thanks.

In a somewhat different category, I desire here to render my grateful thanks to the Government of the Commonwealth of Australia, for the generous gift of a set of the *Historical Records of Australia*, which is now in course of issue. The volumes already to hand make me wish that I had had access to the publication at an earlier date.

I have already recorded my great obligation to the London Missionary Society for allowing me to make use of the manuscript journal of Brother Davies, in which is recorded the passage of the missionaries who, in their escape from Tahiti in 1809-10, were set ashore in the Fijian Islands for a brief time.

Lastly, but certainly not least, I desire to record my thanks to my fellow editor, Mr L. C. Wharton, and at the same time, in justice to himself, to absolve him from responsibility for any errors that may have crept into this introduction.

EVERARD IM THURN.

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM LOCKERBY
SANDALWOOD TRADER IN FIJI
1808-9

JOURNAL OF WILLIAM LOCKERBY

Honoured Father and Mother,

Should you receive this letter or rather long account of the sufferings and adventures of your son; [*from*] your not hearing from me for the last two years, and never having before that time to charge me with neglect of writing to you, I am confident, you must imagine something extraordinary has befallen me.

My last letter was dated Boston, 30th. May 1807, in which I informed you of my going as first officer on board the ship "Jenny" of Boston¹, commanded by William Dorr Jun^r, owned by Messrs. John Dorr & Co., and bound for Port Jackson, New South Wales; from thence to Canton in China, with directions to stop at several islands in the South Seas.

We sailed from Boston on the 2nd. June 1807, and after a pleasant passage arrived at the island Tristan de Cunha² on the 13th. of Augt. I landed at this island with a boat's crew, and found the beach covered with the sea-elephant and the penguin; we took some on board but did not find them such delicious food as some persons have represented them to be, in consequence of their fishy taste and smell. Some of the elephants we killed, and took their blubber for oil; it being pupping season, we took several of their pups to the ship, which proved excellent food; the tongues of the old ones when corned could scarcely be distinguished from a neat's tongue. We left this island, and the next day passed the island of Inaccessible.

On the 3rd. of Septr. we arrived at Gough's Island³, lat.

¹ The "Jenny," of 205 tons, and carrying 6 guns and 14 men, entered at Port Jackson on the 2nd of December, 1807 (H.R., N.S.W. vi, 404). Lockerby gives a somewhat different date of entry (see p. 6), but he wrote from memory, after being marooned in the Fiji Islands.

² See Lockerby's postscript I, p. 80, on Tristan D'Acunha and Inaccessible Islands; see also, in Appendix C, p. 219, the hitherto unpublished letter of the American, Jonathan Lambert, who was the first to settle in these islands.

³ Lockerby's positions are not always more than approximately correct; e.g. Gough's Island is now known to be in Lat. 4° 20' S. and Long. 9° 44' W.

40° S., long. 12° W. At this place fourteen men belonging to another ship of our employers had been left for the purpose of procuring seal-skins. The master of this party was Capt. Dorr's brother. The Captⁿ. appeared very anxious to hear from him; and although it was at the time blowing a gale of wind, I offered my services to go on shore in a whale boat, which was accepted, and six Nantucket men were sent in the boat along with me. As there was no anchorage, the ship was obliged to stand off and on, under close reefed top-sails. Before I had left the vessel ten minutes I wished heartily that I was again on board, the sea running so high that at times I could neither see the ship nor the land. However by keeping head to the sea until I was well to windward of the place where I intended to land, and afterwards by standing away before the wind and sea, I worked in shore, under the bluff of a large rock, which projected from the island, and perceived the people on shore ready to receive me¹. The sea was now rolling on the beach as high as mountains; I watched one of the heaviest seas coming, got the boat stem on the top of it, and the men giving the boat headway with their oars until she grounded; then, by all of us jumping out, we got the boat hauled up before the next sea came, which would to a certainty have stove her to pieces. I found the people on shore all well, though much in want of provisions, not having been supplied for nine months; a considerable part of this time they had lived on the flesh of the seal and fish, the latter of which is abundant. But as their boat had been broken and rendered useless by the fall of part of the rock under which it had been secured, they found a difficulty in procuring fish, and in transporting themselves from one beach to another in order to kill the seal. We were therefore welcome visitors. After being on shore about two hours, seeing the ship was

¹ See postscript II, p. 80. The signs of hostility which Lockerby discerned in the attitude of the "sealers" who were waiting on the shore at Gough's Island to receive him were possibly partly due, as he suggests, to uncertainty as to whether the visiting party was not a British press-gang, such as were at the time very active in "pressing" American sailors, but it may have also been partly due to the intense rivalry which then prevailed between the American and the British sealing gangs which were at work in those southern latitudes.

standing in for the island, we launched our boat in the same manner as we had landed, by watching when the sea rolled in to launch her upon the top of it, and when it receded, by the men giving way with their oars; we got clear of the shore before the following wave could drive us back again. I have been thus particular in describing the manner of my landing here and return to the vessel, because I believe it to be the best plan that can be adopted by persons in similar circumstances. The wind moderating and the sea falling, I succeeded in reaching the ship without accident. The weather being fine the next day, we sent the people on the island some provisions, and left them a boat. We then proceeded on our voyage.

The 3rd. of October we made the islands of St. Paul and Amsterdam; at the latter I landed, & examined the beautiful lagoon and hot springs, so much spoken of by former navigators. The entrance of the lagoon is fifty feet wide, through which the tide ebbs and flows; at low water there is only three feet, at high there is ten feet depth of water. The lagoon is of a circular form, about three miles in circumference, with four fathoms depth of water. The land round it is perpendicular, and near two hundred feet high. On the side of this lagoon, near the entrance, are the hot springs, about three yards from the cold water. When we were there, the springs were smoking, and the water so hot, that potatoes put into one of them were sufficiently boiled in half an hour for the sailors to eat. Inside of the lagoon we could not get any fish, but outside of it it was so plentiful that in half an hour we caught upwards of a hundred fine rock cod, weighing from five to ten pounds each. We also met with a number of wild hogs, one of which I shot, which together with the fish proved very acceptable to the seamen, who had been so long living upon salt provisions.

In passing the South Cape of New Holland¹ we fell in with some heavy white squalls peculiar to that part of the globe.

¹ That Van Diemen's Land (Tasmania) is an island and not part of the mainland of Australia had been discovered in 1787; but Lockerby in 1807 still thought of the South Cape of Tasmania as part of New Holland (Australia).

On the 5th. of December we arrived abreast of Botany Bay, fourteen miles to the south of Port Jackson. Along the shore we saw a number of fires. As no one on board was acquainted with the coast, I landed in one of our boats in expectation of meeting with some person who could pilot us up Port Jackson's river¹; on landing however I could see no human being. I was afterwards told that the fires we had seen were the woods, which by the friction of one rotten tree against another during the hot winds in October easily catch fire and communicate it to the surrounding woods; causing accidents that are sometimes very destructive to the Government cattle and other property. The 6th. Decr. we got a pilot on board, but the wind being unfavourable, we came to anchor inside the heads, and Captn. Dorr with Mr. Francker the supercargo went up to Sydney Cove to wait upon the Governor². On the 7th. a Serjeant and three privates were sent on board our ship to prevent the landing of spirituous liquors without a license from the Government. I had brought with me as a private adventure a few kegs of tobacco which cost me in America a shilling a lb. The Serjeant of the guard told me he was in the habit of purchasing private adventures, and offered me one dollar p. lb. for it; had he offered me half that price I should have taken it, but his offering me so much made me suspect it was prohibited to be imported into the Colony, and suppose by selling it to him, I might involve myself in troubles: the following day he offered me two dollars the lb.: I then told him I would not sell it. The same day we ran up to Sydney Cove. The town of Sydney being the principal settlement of the Colony and the Governor's residence, I sold my tobacco there for three dollars a lb., which perfectly accounts for the generous offers of the Serjeant.

¹ It seems that Lockerby regarded Sydney Harbour as the estuary of "Port Jackson's River," *i.e.* the Paramatta.

² Bligh, who had assumed the Governorship in 1805, was from the first very jealous of American ships calling at Port Jackson, and especially of such as brought in spirituous liquors—of which the "Jenny's" cargo largely consisted. The "Jenny's" troubles at Port Jackson were chiefly due to this cause.

Here I had an opportunity of seeing several of the principal characters that had been transported from England and Ireland, some of whom had acquired fortunes to the amount of sixty thousand pounds st.¹ The population at this time was about sixteen thousand, a third of that number being free, with three hundred soldiers. The encouragement lately given by the British Government to settlers has induced a number voluntarily to leave Great Britain and settle in the colony. The soil in general is very fertile and produces two crops of wheat annually; the air is salubrious throughout the year, except during the month of October when the hot winds prevail², and the climate on the whole is very healthy. Few deaths happen but those occasioned by intemperance, old age or capital punishment. Our unfortunate countrymen in this part of the world are liable for the smallest offences to be transported a second and third time at the will of the Governor, to Norfolk Island, Coal River, &c.³ Besides death, the comfort of those who are unfortunate enough to be transported to this place depends much on the temper and disposition of the Governor. Bligh, who fills that office now, is by no means calculated to mitigate the hardships of the

¹ See postscript III, p. 80.

² See postscript IV, p. 81.

³ Norfolk Island, naturally one of the most beautiful and fertile islets in the world, was utilized from 1788 to 1805, immediately after the formation of the Colony at Port Jackson, as an out-station at which some of the better behaved convicts, under official supervision, and certain "free settlers," should produce food for the parent colony. After the abandonment, in 1806, of this enterprise, the island was almost deserted except as a place of call for war-ships and whalers, till 1826, when it became a penal settlement to which, because of its remoteness and inaccessibility, the most troublesome convicts were sent. It was during this last-named period—long after Lockerby's time—that Norfolk Island acquired the tragic reputation which darkens its history. Almost at the same time as the first abandonment of Norfolk Island as an out-station of Port Jackson, Tasmania came into use as a penitentiary, but the conditions of prison life there do not seem, at first at least, to have been exceptionally severe. "Coal River," otherwise the Hunter River, flowing into the sea at Newcastle, was from the first intended as a penitentiary. Lord Hobart, in his despatch of 24th of February, 1803 (H.R., N.S.W. v, 44) instructed Governor King that "those (convicts) who may be of such abandoned dispositions as to scorn reward or brave displeasure, instead of being sent to Norfolk Island as heretofore, be sent to labour at the coalworks for such periods as their conduct shall appear to deserve."

wretched convicts. He is of a haughty, overbearing nature and little disposed to shew mercy to those who are so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure. While I was there I happened to offend him; having detected some of the soldiers that were on board in the act of embezzling the ship's cargo, I in the heat of passion imprudently made use of the expression 'damn you and the Governor too' which was construed as disrespectful to the Governor. This was too great a crime to be overlooked. I was taken before a bench of magistrates, condemned to a fine of twenty pounds, and to be confined in prison, until the ship should be ready for sea—the confinement I got clear of by means of a few dollars, and was permitted to go on board my ship again. A few days after the Governor was put under arrest by the Lieut.-Governor and other military officers¹. The town was illuminated on the occasion and seemed heartily to partake in my exultations; and I felt myself more than rewarded for the loss of my twenty pounds in witnessing the downfall of the tyrant. It was a fine, calm evening, and I expended a whole box of candles in lighting the ship, fore and aft, as she lay directly opposite the Governor's door, before which a guard of soldiers was placed to prevent his escaping, previous to his being sent to England to be tried. This is the same Bligh who was turned adrift in his launch from the ship Bounty in the South Pacific Ocean². The colony has now been settled about twenty years. In a short time it will enjoy the privileges of a Free Port of Trade and consequently will get rid of many restrictions under which it now labours as a private colony, being so far distant and depending wholly on the Mother Country. Its situation is such that the inhabitants, in my opinion, at some future period will find no difficulty in declaring their independence, and thereby enjoy their full share of commerce with other parts of the globe.

At Port Jackson we were informed that Sandle-wood had been found in the Feegee Islands; which is an article of great value in the Chinese market, the natives making use of it, on account of its strong smell, to burn on their altars and over

¹ See postscript V, p. 81.

² See postscript VI, p. 81.

the bodies of their deceased friends. We therefore determined to go to these islands for a cargo of this wood¹. The Feegee Islands were first visited by Europeans four years ago². They are inhabited by cannibals. This group of islands is detached from the Friendly Islands, and bear W.S.W. from them, distant about ninety leagues. They are in number about fifty. The largest is called by the Europeans Sandle Wood Island, as this wood is peculiar to that island only—its Lat is $16^{\circ} 55'$ S., Long 178° , E. of Greenwich³.

Having shipped more seamen, and got additional guns, ammunition, and other necessary articles on board, we sailed from Port Jackson on the 15th. of March 1808, and nothing material occurred until the 2nd. of April, when in Lat. 22° S., Long. $172^{\circ} 50'$ W. in a sudden squall we lost our fore and main masts, and knowing we were close to some of the Friendly Islands from a good observation we had made the day before, with a ship almost a perfect wreck, we found ourselves placed in a very disagreeable situation; for although the natives of these islands received from Capt. Cook the appellation of Friendly Islanders, it is a well known fact that of late their conduct to unfortunate Europeans who have fallen in their way has been one of the most hostile nature, whatever right they may have had to that title from Capt. Cook in his time. They have taken several ships that put into their islands for refreshment, and massacred every man;

¹ See postscript VII, p. 81, as to 'beech-de-mer' to be collected.

² The Port Jackson ship "Marcia," Cptn. Aikin, and the Manilla ship "Fair American," Cptn. Farrell, were the first ships to fetch sandalwood from the Fiji Islands, both in 1804, and both in consequence of Oliver Slater's report of what he had seen when adrift in the Islands after the wreck of the "Argo."

³ Up to the time of Lockerby's visit the Fijian group had not been clearly distinguished from the Friendly (Tongan) group; indeed, the Samoan group had sometimes been classed with them, the three being regarded as "the Navigator Islands." In a later passage Lockerby himself seems to regard the Fijian and Friendly Islands as one group. The compass bearing W.S.W. is obviously a slip for W.N.W.

"Sandle Wood Island," i.e. Vanua Levu, is only the second largest island of the group, Viti Levu being larger. The sandalwood tree occurs also in Viti Levu (see Seemann's *Flora Vitiensis*, p. 210); but till long after 1808 the larger island remained unknown, except as regards small parts of its coastline.

the ship Port au Prince of London put into Tongataboo in 1809, and the Captn. was decoyed on shore on the pretence of purchasing provisions¹. It being on Sunday, the half of the ship's company went on shore with him. They no sooner landed than the natives fell upon them, and put every man to death; they then went on board the ship, and the remaining part of the crew, not harbouring the least suspicion, were overpowered and massacred, except five men who jumped into the ship's hold. A few months after this treacherous affair I received the above account from the mouth of one of the five that escaped the general massacre of their ship-mates.

But to return to the ship, which was now laying like a log upon the water—fortunately the weather proved fine for several days, which enabled us to get our ship on the fourth day under jury-masts, and in such a condition that we judged her competent to proceed on her voyage. On the 10th. we made the island of Tongataboo; on passing the S.W. side of the island it was nearly calm, and about fifty canoes came off to the ship. Forty of the natives were permitted to come on board; their canoes were made fast to the ship. We bought several hogs, yams and plantains from them, while one of them, who appeared to be their principal chief, stood on the ship's round-house abaft, and was apparently by his signs encouraging those of the natives that were still in their canoes to come nigher the vessel. The wind being very light and the current appearing to be setting the ship inshore, I ordered one of the seamen into the chains to take a cast of the lead. The man seeing a number of lines made fast round the after part of the ship, and hauling one of them

¹ See postscript VIII, p. 81. The "Port au Prince" was taken by natives on the 1st of December, 1806, not 1809, and it happened at Lefuka in the Hapaa Islands, not at Tongataboo (Mariner's *Account...of the Tonga Islands*, Ed. 1817, Vol. I, pp. 41-50). In addition to the eight Sandwich Islanders who had been on the ship, twenty-six of the European crew, including William Mariner himself, survived and remained among the natives for some years. Mariner, after he had been brought away from Vavao, in 1810, by the "Favorite," Captn. Arnold Fisk, gave an account of what became of each of his fellow-castaways, of whom at least fifteen were taken away by sandalwood ships on the way to Fiji; five of these came away with Mariner on the "Favorite" (see Mariner's *Tonga*, II, 76-8).

up, found a hatchet fast to the end of it with a long handle, which he informed me of, and I communicated the same to Captn. Dorr, who gave the order to clear the ship of the natives; which order, although the natives made some resistance, was soon complied with. After we had driven them overboard, we drew up their lines and found about thirty hatchets with handles about four feet long; this was sufficient to convince us their intention was to have taken the vessel from us. The breeze springing up, we fired several swivels loaded with grape amongst them, by the way of wishing them good-bye, and left them to lament over their bad luck and perhaps some of their dead friends.

On the 12th. of April we passed Turtle Island¹; a large canoe came off to the ship, amongst whom were the chief of the island and his wife; the latter brought a large baked shark as a present for Captn. Dorr. It was delivered with a great deal of ceremony into the arms of the Captn. by one of the chief's principal men, as he was standing upon the quarter-deck. In spite of his inclination to please his visitors, he was obliged to let go his hold, and stop his nostrils, for the unsavoury steam which arose from this delicate present was too strong for him not to be affected by it; but when the shark (which was folded up in green leaves at the time it was given to him and smoking hot) fell upon the deck and broke to pieces, the stench it spread was so great that the Captn. was compelled to betake himself into the cabin for shelter; while her ladyship was picking up the precious morsels, to carry down to him, he all the time was making signs to her to express his thankfulness for the great attention she was showing him; but he could not be persuaded again to take hold of it, either by fair or foul means. When she found he would not receive it from her, she turned from him towards her companions, and seemed perfectly sensible of the affront that had been put upon her. To make his peace with her, Captn. Dorr presented her with a looking-glass, some beads,

¹ Turtle Island or Vatoa, the only one of the Fijian Islands actually visited by Captain Cook, is at the southern extremity of the chain of the Lau Islands, which almost connect the Friendly and the Fijian Islands.

&c., on which our visitors left us very well satisfied. In the course of the following day we passed several islands, and some of the natives came off to the ship, but not having any sandle wood, we had little communication with them¹.

The 15th. of May we arrived at the island of Mygoora², and came to anchor on the west side of it, close in with the land, and before a town in which the king of the island resided. Mr. Francker, the supercargo, and myself landed and were received with a good deal of ceremony and respect by this king, who informed us he was at war with the people on the east side, and gave us to understand they were very bad men, that they would take our ship from us, and kill us if they had an opportunity³. We dined with this good old king and some of his principal men upon bread fruit and plantains; for drink we had the milk of the cocoa-nut. We bought from the king sixteen fine large hogs. Afterwards he made us a present of a fine large hog and a quantity of bread fruit, &c.; in return we gave him a whale's tooth, several pieces of iron, and some glass beads for his wife. Although he kept many women, he shewed more attention to one, than any of the rest; and she alone was permitted to eat with him. We left these friendly people in the evening, but not before they had shown us more of their kindness. The old queen made us another present of cloth of her own making from the bark of a tree⁴, and some cocoa-nut-oil. The king made each of us a present of a carved spear, a club, bow and a bundle of arrows. We went on board quite pleased with our excursion on shore. The next day we were visited by a number of the Natives of the east side of the island who came on board all armed. I took particular notice of one man, who brought on board in his canoe about twenty men;

¹ See postscript IX, p. 81.

² Mygoora (elsewhere Lockerby writes Migora) refers to the island of Koro. *Mai* is a preposition signifying from, or at. "*Mai Koro*" (at Koro) was probably the answer of some Fijian to a question as to the name of the place at which the "Jenny" had arrived.

³ The two sides of the islands were probably occupied respectively by Melanesians and by Polynesians from Tonga.

⁴ Native cloth [*tapa* or *masi*] made from the bark of the "Paper Mulberry" (*Broussonetia papyrifera*).

he then sculled on shore and returned with twenty more; this he repeated several times until we thought proper to drive them out of the ship; and in doing this we found some difficulty. However, by my wounding that chief, who had been so active in bringing the others from the shore, in the side with a boarding pike, they all jumped overboard. The same day we got under weigh, and sailed for Myemboo bay¹, where we arrived on the 21st. May.

At this place we found a ship and a brig² at anchor, belonging to Port Jackson, owned by Messrs. Lord, Cable, and Underwood, gentlemen, who a few years ago were transported from England as common convicts. Mr. Stewart, who was Captn. of the Brig, came on board, as he said, to help us in mooring the ship, but his motive proved to be quite different. This trade being considered by the gentlemen of Botany Bay as belonging to themselves, the Captn. had no doubt particular orders to prevent us getting a cargo of sandle wood, if possible. They attempted to run our ship on shore, but were disappointed. In order to discover what their intentions were towards us, we plied them well with rum, which produced the desired effect, for they openly declared they intended to prevent us procuring a cargo. This produced an immediate quarrel, the result of which was the driving them out of the ship, which some did not quit without broken bones. From our vessel they went on board the King George, the name of the ship from Port Jackson, requesting the assistance of her crew to make an attack upon us for the injury we had done them. This they were deterred from by the report of some of our guns, and conjecturing we were prepared for their reception, altered their design and retired to rest.

We had anchored the ship in four fathoms water, opposite to the mouth of a small river, that emptied itself into the bay; on the side of which the town of the king of Myemboo

¹ *Myemboo Bay* is Mbua Bay (*Mai Mbua*), often in early times called Sandalwood Bay, as being the one harbour in which all ships coming to the islands for sandalwood dropped anchor.

² The brig "Elizabeth," Cptn. Stewart, and the ship "King George," Cptn. Aikin.

was situated, whose name was Beumbawallow¹, he was the principal chief of that part of the island. I went on shore to see him to invite him on board the ship to receive a present from Captn. Dorr. The next day he came, and was presented with five whale's teeth and some iron; several saws and axes were also given him to cut wood for us, but as this was the only part of the island where the sandalwood had been cut, it was not then plentiful, which obliged us to go to Highley Bay² about forty miles distant from the ship to procure it. The boats of the Botany Bay ship were at the same place, and I had often quarrels with the crew, which generally ended in blows; but finding they could not make much by this kind of play, they endeavoured to make the natives steal from us, thinking we should punish them for such depredations, and by that means prevent us from completing our cargo. In this they were likewise disappointed, for when anything was lost, I made a small present to the chief, who not only had the article returned, but punished the offenders. On the 27th. of May one of the Botany Bay vessels³ sailed, and we had then a free trade with the natives.

The 29th. of June, the long boat of the Brig⁴ Eliza of Providence, Rhode Island, arrived owned by Messrs. Brown and Ives, on board which were Captn. Correy, Mr. Elderkin chief mate, Mr. Barton, second mate, and two seamen. They were all nearly naked. We received them on board, and supplied them with clothes and other necessaries. The Brig Eliza sailed from Port Jackson a few days after we did, for

¹ Tui Na Mbouwalu, *i.e.* the Chief of Mbouwalu, the principal town in Mbua. The Chief's house had eight centre posts, hence the name Mbouwalu.

² "Highly Bay" is Wailea Bay, directly north of Mbua Bay, from which it is separated by the great headland of Nai Vaka, which forms the eastern extremity of Vanua Levu.

³ The "King George"; she reached Port Jackson, with sandalwood from Fiji, on the 21st July, 1808 (H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818).

⁴ The "Eliza," of 135 tons, 3 guns and 10 men, from Buenos Ayres, entered at Port Jackson on the 9th of February, 1807, and cleared thence on the 22nd of the following April, destination not stated, but really for Fiji, for sandalwood (H.R., N.S.W. vi, 414 & 819). The Captain's name in the note of entry is given as E. Hill Correy, but in the note of clearance as "Captain Gray." The last-named form is certainly an error.

the Feegee Islands. On the 23rd. of May last she ran upon a reef of coral rock¹, about sixty miles to the eastward of Myemboo Bay. They got on shore on the Island of Ambow in their boats, where they were soon stripped naked by the natives, and plundered of everything they had saved from the wreck of their vessel. After remaining among the natives three weeks, Captn. Correy his two mates and two men with much difficulty obtained permission from the chief of the island to go in search of our ship, which they supposed might be among the islands to the westward. The brig's long boat was given to them, but the islanders would not allow them to take any arms or ammunition, and their provision consisted merely of cocoa nuts. The natives not being acquainted with the use of their nautical instruments had destroyed them all. In these circumstances they shaped their course to the westward, and on the third day were fortunate enough to fall in with our ship, and were received on board by their countrymen, almost dead through hunger and fear of falling into the hands of the natives of the other islands. On the 3rd. of July we fitted out two boats for the purpose of recovering as much of the money as we could that was on board the Eliza when she was cast away; which amounted to thirty thousand dollars. The boats were well provided, manned, and armed; Captn. Correy, his mates, Mr. Francker and myself were of the number. We arrived at the island on the 5th. where Captn. Correy had landed, after the wreck of his vessel, and where he had left the remainder of his crew. On our landing we found they had left the island soon after the departure of the Captn., and gone to another², whither they had taken the greatest part of the money. After remaining here several days, we succeeded without any difficulty in obtaining the money that was still left from the natives, by exchanging with them a small piece of iron for

¹ The "Eliza" was wrecked on Mothea reef, off Nairai; and the crew got ashore, not on the "Island of Ambow" (*i.e.* Mbau), but on Nairai (Nirie, as Patterson calls it; see p. 96 *post*).

² The island to which those of the crew who were left at Nairai by Captain Correy got away was Mbatiki—which Patterson calls "Beteger," (see p. 99, *n. 3 post*).

a hundred dollars. In this manner we recovered for Capt. Correy about nine thousand. In the afternoon of the 9th. we had got the money in the boat, and determined that evening to return towards the ship. The boat at this time was lying about two miles from the shore, and Capt. Correy and I were in it eating some cocoa nuts which some of the natives were opening. Along side there were two canoes each containing a few natives. At this moment, little suspecting any danger, we were suddenly seized by the natives that were on board with us, and thrown overboard. They were then assisted by those in the canoes and attacked the seamen, of whom one man and a boy they left for dead. After some trouble Captn. Correy's second mate and the other seamen succeeded in driving the villains out of the boat, but not before the former was severely wounded. Mr. Francker and Mr. Elderkin were on shore and knew nothing of what was taking place in the boat; Capt. Correy and myself by this time had regained it, and the natives being joined by some others had manned a large canoe, and were making towards us. Imagining the treatment we should receive in case of being overpowered, we steered our boat directly towards them, and when we were within about a hundred yards of them, we fired our swivel and muskets, which did considerable execution; a number being killed, and the rest jumping overboard swam to the shore. The two gentlemen on land hearing the report of the guns, and suspecting some disaster, made for a point of land in sight of the boat, and before the particulars of the affair were known by the natives on the island, we were fortunate enough to pick up Mr. Francker and Elderkin, as they were swimming towards us. The night coming on we left these unfriendly people, and made the best of our way to the ship, which we reached on the 11th. The boy got well again, but the man died a few days afterwards, his skull being fractured.

On the 17th. a boat's crew, five in number, belonging to the Botany Bay Brig¹, Captain Stewart, on her passage to

¹ *I.e.* the "Elizabeth."

Highley Bay fired upon a canoe of the Island of Taffier¹. The islanders upon this fell upon the crew, and instantly put three of them to death—the remaining two were natives of Otaheite, who saved themselves by jumping out of the boat, and diving under water; however, they were taken and carried with the bodies of the three Europeans to the island of Taffier with the boat. Sometime after I received information that they were still living, and on hearing this I determined to recover them and the boat, if possible on friendly terms, as the boat's crew had been the first aggressors. I had three whale-boats each manned with six men and carrying a swivel and musket, in case I should have to adopt hostile measures. The island was situated about thirty miles from Highley Bay; consequently seventy miles from the ship. This expedition was undertaken without the consent of either Captn. Dorr, or Captn. Stewart; the latter, although they were his own people, either through fear or some other motive, would not attempt their recovery. We set out for the island in the evening, in order that we might arrive there by the morning, which we did. With us we had a man who had been sometime among the islanders and understood their language². Not wishing to trust too much to the natives, we sent this man on shore, who prevailed upon the King to come with him on board the boat. When I had him in my power I was resolved not to part with him, until I got the two men. I made him some small presents to induce him to send them to us; but this he did not seem inclined to do, probably on account of their being so shamefully mangled with their spears and clubs. I sent the interpreter on shore again to try what he could do with the chiefs there; when after waiting an hour, a canoe with a native came off to me, carrying a stone on which the man I had sent on shore had written that they were afraid for their chief, whom we had possession of, and that they intended to detain him as a hostage for the chief's safety,

¹ "Taffier" is the island of Tavea, lying close up to the land in the smaller bay beyond Lekutu (Ngaloa) Bay.

² The interpreter was almost certainly Charles Savage (see pp. 95 and 175 n.), though it is just possible that it was Oliver Slater, whose whereabouts at this period seems nowhere recorded.

and not give up the two men. I wrote back by this man that as soon as they were delivered up I would let the King go, but not before; to which they replied they would allow the interpreter to return, and when the King was released, the two men should be sent. This I would not admit of. They sent me then a quantity of cocoa nuts, yams and plantains, thinking these presents might make me alter my resolution, but it was in vain, and fearing a surprise I kept the natives at a respectable distance from the boat. One canoe with six women came along side¹, and endeavoured by singing, dancing and all the bewitching arts they were capable of, to induce me to liberate their king; but I was determined. I must confess the islanders could not have sent more² powerful advocates to plead their cause, and one more proof against them than myself might have been persuaded to grant their request; for although they could not boast of the beautiful complexion of European women, yet they were not destitute of those qualifications peculiar to the female sex which renders them such irresistible intercessors. The women left us; and soon after the interpreter and the two men were sent on board. At the sight of the two latter, the seamen could scarcely be prevented from falling upon the natives. They were both wounded in several parts of the body; one so much disfigured that his shipmates did not know him. I sent the King on shore as I had promised. The two wounded men reported, that the other three, who were killed, had been cooked in the ground upon hot stones. The bodies of two of them were sent as presents to the neighbouring isles, the remaining one was eaten before their eyes. I did not think it prudent at that time to revenge the death of these three men³. After the King had landed, the natives collected upon the beach to the number of two or three hundred and were

¹ It is a recognized Polynesian custom for the men to leave the women to undertake the feeding and general entertainment of strangers visiting their town; whether a similar custom prevailed among the Melanesians I do not know.

² The "more" looks like a slip of the pen for "less." Lockerby after his return to his family and friends was habitually anxious to disclaim any undue attraction towards the Fijian ladies.

³ As to the subsequent fate of the Tavea folk see p. 41.

busy about their canoes. I demanded the boat they had taken, which they refused to give me without the present of a whale's tooth. This conduct of the islanders exasperated the seamen so much, that it caused me to back the boats in nearer to the shore. When at a proper distance we fired on the natives with the swivels and muskets, and then took to our oars. The natives immediately launched about thirty canoes and gave chase to us, which they continued twenty miles, all which time they were within musket shot, and we kept firing among them. Night approaching they left us, and soon after we arrived at Highley Bay. The next day we sent the wounded men on board the ship.

We traded with the people of Highley Bay for some time; for iron work, beads &c. they gave us sandlewood, cut and brought down to the beach, where I had built a hut, in which we lived in the day-time, but for fear of alarm, slept in the boats at night.

Mr Francker (*generally?*) remained at the Bay, and I in the whale-boat carried the wood to the ship as it was collected; sometimes I exchanged situations with him, the mosquitoes and sandfly being very troublesome.

The ship had almost completed her cargo when to my utter astonishment I was told by the natives that the ship had sailed. I and five men on our return from the Bay to the place where we expected to find her, were astonished to observe she had sailed. Whether it was the intention of Captain Dorr, when the ship sailed for China, to leave Mr Francker or myself, or perhaps both, I shall not say, because he has denied that he intended to leave either of us, and has excused himself by saying that the ship was drove to sea, and, being under jury masts, was not able to get up again and was obliged to bear away for China. Be this as it may, by this accident I was left among a race of cannibals, far from every object that was near and dear to me, and possessing but very faint hopes of a vessel calling at such a simply dismal corner of the Globe that might carry me and my unfortunate comrades again into civilized society. The Brig belonging to Botany Bay was still at Myemboo Bay,

but as I was one of the most active in driving them out of our ship, I did not expect to receive any good treatment from them: nor did I like to go to Botany Bay without money, for that would be transporting myself at once¹.

I went next day after the ship sailed (28th. of July) to visit the old King of Myemboo. By this time I spoke the language in a tolerable manner. I told him my misfortune, to which he answered more like a father than an uncultured savage, that I was very welcome to stay with him. He then took me to his house, where he gave me some breadfruit, but would not allow me to feed myself, it being contrary to the custom of the principal chiefs, who always have one to feed them; and this honour was shewn to me all the time that I lived with them. I found the greatest difficulty in drinking in their manner; the drink is commonly served in a green plantain leaf, and was poured into my mouth, (I) not being permitted to touch the leaf that contained it either with my lips or hands. This island is called by the natives Tocen Roba²; it is about one hundred and seventy miles in length and twenty in breadth. The middle of the island is mountainous, but

¹ See postscript X, p. 82. It should here be especially noted that in the postscript Lockerby gives a different—or, it may be, only a more detailed and much more romantic—account of the circumstances under which he was marooned. He states that, after a violent altercation with Captain Dorr, he left the ship under the impression that the Captain was about to follow him ashore, to settle their differences by the exchange of pistol shots, but that “this the dastardly coward did not do, his object being to get me out of the ship and to have some pretence for saying that I left of my own accord.” He adds that he never returned to the “Jenny” after this. It may be that the story of the duel was invented and added after his return to England, for the sake of effect, or it may be that the story of the duel was true but was suppressed after his return home, with a view to sparing the feelings of his relatives. In the latter case it must be assumed that in saying that he never returned to the ship he did not mean that he did not continue occasionally to bring down boat-loads of sandal-wood from the island depot to the ship’s side.

² “Tocen Roba” is a curious rendering of Thakaundrove, the native name of a district of Vanua Levu, but sometimes, especially by Europeans, applied to the whole of that island. It may here be noted that on Arrowsmith’s chart of 1814, now reproduced, the name is given as Tackanova.

Lockerby, who never saw even the coast of Vanua Levu except between Mbua and Nanduri, is wrong about the dimensions of “Tocen Roba.” In one version of the journal the length of the island is stated as 670 miles, but this must be a slip of the pen for 170. The greatest length of the island is really only about 100 miles.

along the sea shore it is a fine level plain principally covered with cocoa nut, bread fruit, plantain, banana and other fruit trees peculiar to the islands in the Pacific ocean. All these islands are surrounded with coral reefs, transparent and of every colour. In looking down upon them when the sun is shining they present the most beautiful the eye can behold or the imagination picture.

On this island there are four persons who call themselves Kings¹. The one under whose protection I lived, was considered the most powerful, being able to bring into the field three thousand men². The population of the whole island might be twelve thousand. Besides these four Kings, there are a great number of petty chiefs, who have districts allotted to them, and have a fort or place of defence in each, but still considered as subject and under the control of one or other of the four Kings. The lower class of the people is under complete subjection to the different chiefs, particularly to the kings. If one of them should chance to meet him, he passes him in a bending posture, at the same time repeating a few words, which manifest his obedience; he nevertheless would rather go half a mile out of his way to avoid him. The king's wife has respect shown her by other women; in short, there is a similarity of deference demanded and paid by the inferiors to the superiors to that of more polished nations; but in their own way, far more particularly attended to. In time of peace they live as neighbours in the greatest harmony together; in war they are most inveterate enemies. They eat no human flesh except that of the prisoners they take in

¹ The four Kings must have been Tui Mbua, Tui Mathuata, Tui Thakau, and Tui Ndama, or, as he should perhaps more correctly be called, Tui Vuya. (*Tui* is the official title of the principal Chief of a place.)

² The total population of the Mbua District in 1865—when the area of the District was much the same as in Lockerby's time—was estimated by David Wilkinson, a competent observer of long experience, at 40,000, notwithstanding the decrease which had undoubtedly been going on since the introduction of fire-arms (*i.e.* since the sandalwood episode) and the consequent increase in the frequency and deadliness of intertribal fighting (see *Report...on Decrease of Native Population*, Fiji Government Printing Office, 1896, p. 82). Lockerby's estimate of the number of fighting men in his time was probably under rather than over the mark. .

battle¹, and for this they take more credit to themselves than for merely killing them. The first nine months that I lived among them I saw no human flesh eaten. During that period their conduct towards me, and their general character, as much as I could observe of it, made me consider them in quite a different light than in that of cannibals. The men are remarkably stout, well-made people, and in features much resembling Europeans. They differ from other Indians in being very desirous of keeping their skin clean. Their hair is different colours, so that the one half of their heads will appear white and the other black at the same time². In war they are fearless and savage to the utmost degree, but in peace their disposition is mild and generous towards their friends, and the affection they bear towards their relations is very seldom found among Europeans. Their arms consist of bows and arrows³, slings, spears and clubs, which they use very dexterously. The women are remarkably handsome, and have all that delicacy of form and softness of voice and manners, which distinguish female from the other sex in every part of the civilized world. Their virtue might be set as an example to nations who pride themselves on being far removed from them in knowledge and refinement⁴. Should their husbands die before them, custom obliges them to submit to be strangled and put with them into the same grave: this they do with the greatest alacrity, and should the man have ten wives at his death, all must suffer and be buried with him. Were this the practice in Europe, I think most of our ladies would prefer to live and die single⁵.

But to return to my narrative, my intention being principally to inform my friends of the particulars relating to myself during this unfortunate voyage. Placed in this deplorable situation, I had only to resign myself to fate, or allow myself to sink under my misfortune. By natural instinct man is roused to overcome difficulties, when there is no other alternative but to overcome them or perish. In my present con-

¹ On the whole subject of cannibalism see Introduction.

² See postscript XI, p. 83.

³ It has sometimes been suggested that bows and arrows were not used by the Fijians except in sport; but this is clearly erroneous.

⁴ See postscript XII, p. 84.

⁵ See postscript XIII, p. 84.

dition my life was scarcely worth enjoying, but I had motives which still made me anxious to prolong it; I had left at home a beloved wife, a father and mother, and other relations whose happiness was inseparable from my own, and whom Providence had doomed should look up to me for support and protection. Thus influenced I endeavoured to acquire the good-will of the natives, and in particular that of the King. I adopted their manners and customs as much as possible; went naked with only a belt made from the bark of a tree round my waist, that hung down before and behind like a sash. The islanders were also dressed in this way. The dress of the women is somewhat similar to that of the men; only the belt or petticoat is made of grass about four inches broad, is tied in a knot before and hangs down to the ground. These dresses differ in quality according to the rank of the wearers; and in the manner the women walk and sit. They answer every purpose they are intended for¹. When I first took to wearing this, to me, new fashioned dress, the sun scorched my body in a shocking degree, and the sand-flies and musquitoes almost eat me up: however by the application of cocoa-nut oil and turmeric root my skin soon got so hard, that it was proof against the hottest meridian sun. My body was sometimes painted black, sometimes white, according to their different rites and ceremonies. My hair was at times painted black, at other times red; in this way I was apparently metamorphosed sometimes to an African negro, and then to a native of Bengal. I paid particular attention to making myself acquainted with their language, and in a few months I could make myself not only understood, but could discourse with them on any subject; which made my wretched situation more tolerable. The King's family, who lived with him, consisted of his wife, three children, his two sisters, his niece and myself. Although he had more wives than one, and no doubt more children, yet no more lived with him. This wife was the daughter of the chief or king of the district of Myendam². She was about forty years of age, and of a

¹ See postscript XIV, p. 84.

² Myendam, properly Mai Ndama. Ndama was an important native town immediately south from Mbua Bay. Lockerby evidently regarded

mild temper, but at the same time sensible of her superiority over other women, both by her birth and situation. She possessed likewise great influence over the king, who was a fatherly, good man. Her attention to her children when sick, evinced the great motherly affection which she bore for them. To the king's niece I was under many obligations for the care she took of me while I was unwell. My being exposed much to the sun, and my head uncovered, it affected my eyes in such a way that I was several days nearly blind¹. She dressed them with a preparation from roots, and by that means they soon got well. She would also if I was absent when the family were at their meals, (which are not confined to any particular time of day), always preserve some for me². As her story is a little singular, I shall relate it, as she told it me herself. Her uncle likewise told me it in the same words. She was about twenty years of age, and had been married to a chief of an adjacent island, who was killed in battle; she, according to custom, with the rest of the wives was to be strangled. The night previous to the day that was to have been her last, Naronga, for that was her name, made her escape from the island by swimming, and fled to her uncle, who granted her his protection on account of her being with child, of which she was delivered the next day after her escape. By this act of indulgence and humanity towards his niece, the King told me he was afraid he had incurred the displeasure of his Callow, or God, and the different chiefs of the surrounding islands, as it is the duty of the principal of them to see such laws put into force. Naronga informed me herself that had it not been for her child, she would willingly have submitted to her fate, and smiling at the little infant then at her breast, two months old, she said she had lived to give it suck.

it as the chief town of the District (or Kingdom) in which it was situated; but there is a strong tradition that the natives regarded the district lying between Mbua and Vuya Point, at the southern extremity of the island, as the Kingdom of Vuya. Bulendam was regarded as Tui Ndama or as Tui Vuya.

¹ Acute *theka*, or conjunctivitis, is still a very common malady in the Fijian Islands.

² See postscript XV, p. 84.

The King had a present made him of a wooden house¹ by some gentlemen of Botany Bay, Lord, Cable & Co., which he did not like. The seamen in putting it up, for it was framed at Botany Bay, had split some of the boards, and the King said it would neither keep out the sun, nor the rain. The house was divided into two apartments; one containing the different articles the King had obtained from Europeans, and in the other was deposited the fire-arms that I had with me in the boat, consisting of four muskets, two pair of pistols, six cutlasses, six boarding pikes, a compass, quadrant, spy-glass, &c. I kept the key of this house, so that I was able to lock myself in, and enjoy myself with writing and reading the few books I had with me, without interruption from the natives. The King had likewise been presented with a brass laced hat, with a brass crown, but he would much rather have had a whale's tooth, that being the most valuable article among them. They hang them about their necks on great festivals, and give them with their daughters in marriage—as their marriage portion—in short, he who is possessed of a quantity of them, thinks himself extremely rich.

The men who had been left behind with me were living with the lower class of natives; they often complained to me of their being very much distressed for want of provisions. This being the season that the islanders planted their yams &c.², the white men assisted them. Some were given to them to plant for themselves, which they would have applied to present use, had I not told them, that I had been thinking of a plan for our escape, and that by planting the yams, they would answer for our sea stock. Nothing could be more pleasing to them than the thought of getting away from the island. They began immediately to plant their yams with great cheerfulness, which when done I communicated to them my plan for our escape; but fearing the natives might prevent us, I made them all swear to keep our intention

¹ It is worth noting that this first European building in the Fijian Islands was at Mbua and not at Mbau. See p. 198.

² On the routine of yam-planting and its connection with the Fijian Calendar see Seemann's *Flora Vitiensis*, p. 306; see also Brewster's *Hill Tribes of Fiji*, p. 93.

secret, and to conceal it particularly from the King. And the oath which they all took [was as] follows:

Myemboo Bay, 5th Sept. 1808.

By mutual agreement we whose names are under-signed, having been unfortunately left in this unfrequented part of the globe, since the 28th. of July last, and having no assurance of any vessel coming to relieve us from our unhappy situation, we think it prudent to make the best preparations in our power to make our escape by the 1st. of December next, it being the commencement of the S.E. Trades: We therefore appoint William Lockerby, formerly chief mate of the ship Jenny but at present one of our unfortunate companions, to direct the fitting out of our boat; and should no ship arrive before the 1st. of December next we, depending upon his judgement, will willingly embark with him for any part of the Pacific Ocean or any other part of the world which he may prefer to steer for, and we do most solemnly swear and promise to be governed wholly and entirely by his directions. We promise not to form any connection with any of the women of the island, but endeavour to acquire the good will of the natives in order that they may not prevent, but assist our escaping; and should we leave this island and have to stop at any other near this one no man shall leave our party without the consent of the whole. These rules we most willingly conform to and we will at all times and in all cases relating to our liberty and return to our native country attend to the advice of William Lockerby.

(signed) WILLIAM JOHNSTON, JAMES SULIVAN, PETER ANDERSON, ROBERT BROWN, PRINCE FREEMAN, ALEXANDER LINDSAY, WILLIAM LOCKERBY.

On the 7th. of September we got our boat hauled up, and as the King had plenty of tools of all sorts, we soon cut it in two, and proceeded to lengthen it. The people worked with good will. My principal view in doing this was to keep them upon good terms with one another, for they were generally quarrelling among themselves, which made the natives some-



PLATE 2. A FIJIAN FORT.

times interfere; but now they were so well occupied that all enmity was hushed, and the constant subject they talked upon was their friends at home.

About this time several large canoes arrived from the other islands. The King informed me they were come to demand from him a part of the property he had received from Europeans, which he had refused to give them; he moreover said that ever since the white men traded with him, he had always given them a portion of what his own subjects had worked hard for; but now he and his people had determined to give them no more. Soon after we received information that the several Islanders had combined, and were making preparations for attacking the King's place and the island of Taffier, the chief of which was the old King's nephew, who would not enter into the league. On being apprised of the storm, the King began to prepare a fort, and sent to the inferior chiefs to assist him, or fortify themselves. I mentioned to the King I thought it strange he had not long before provided himself with a fort: to which he answered, that ever since he had been king, he had been feared and respected, that when at war he had always been the strongest, and never had occasion to act on the defensive, which he observed was the only time a fort was useful. As the construction of their forts is ingenious, and shews the progress they have made in the art of war, I will give you an account of the one built for the King¹.

The ground he chose for the fort, was a dry spot of rising ground in the middle of a swamp, about twelve hundred yards in circumference. Round the dry parts, logs of wood were placed at equal distances, about ten feet long and one

¹ The entrance to a Fijian Fort shown on Plate II has been very carefully reconstructed, by Miss Gardner King, from Lockerby's detailed description here given, from the account by Commander Wilkes (*U.S.A. Exploring Expedition*, Vol. III, p. 80), and that by Wm. Mariner in his *Account...of the Tonga Islands*, Vol. I, pp. 97-8, and also from a sketch, by Bishop Selwyn in a letter to his Father (reproduced in facsimile in Curteis' *Life of Bp. Selwyn*) of the fort at Bea in Tongataboo. Owing to the ephemeral nature of the building material used, no complete example now survives in these more peaceful times; but Miss King's beautiful drawing may confidently be accepted as a correct reconstruction.

foot thick, which had been collected by four hundred natives in the surrounding woods, where they cut and from thence carried them on their shoulders. Holes were then dug in the ground into which these posts were placed, and afterwards filling earth about them, that became quite solid. About these posts, two heights of small trees were lashed lengthways with vines, the first three, the other six feet from the ground; to these two heights of small trees they fasten in an upright position, bamboos, about forty feet long, which are placed close to each other all round the fort: the ends of them being buried a considerable depth in the soil, and mould thrown up against them. They form a complete and strong rampart. The fort has four gates, eight feet wide, at each of which they place perpendicularly four cocoa-nut trees, about sixty feet high: on the top of these platforms are erected sufficiently large to contain fifty men, & surrounded by a breast-work so strong and close as secures entirely those upon it, who by their slings and arrows have a great advantage over the besiegers. As an addition to the strength of the fort, they place the plantain tree, which is of a spongy substance, inside of the bamboos that surround it, which completely shelters them from the arrows &c. of the assailants. When attacked in the day time they leave the gates open, but at night they are secured by logs of wood laid across them. This is the manner the fort is constructed, the outer works of which are equally calculated for defence. It is encompassed by a ditch full of water, sixty yards wide¹, except in front of the gates, to which narrow pathways run through it, six feet wide. In the middle of these pathways they have a gate-way with a flanking barricade, so contrived that a number of men may conceal themselves behind it, and through which they have got holes for shooting their arrows, while they remain quite safe from the attacks of the enemy outside. At the outer extremity of the pathway there is also a barricade similar to that in the middle. This when forced is abandoned, and a stand is made

¹ Sixty yards seems a surprising width; and the few traces that remain of these war-ditches seem to suggest that sixty feet, or even six yards, would have been a more accurate estimate.

in the inner one, and should this be carried, they retreat into the fort. The ditch, or the different divisions of it, is so planned as to keep it full, and not allow it to overflow, the water being conducted underground by hollow bamboos. Such a fort as the above was completed in less than a month.

The women were no less busy in preparing for the war, than the men. They were employed in grating or rubbing down the plantain, the sweet potatoe and the bread-fruit into a kind of jelly¹. This they wrapped up in leaves of the plantain, and deposited it inside of the fort in small holes covered over with stones. The bodies of their enemies and this jelly or paste are all they have to live upon in time of war, the provisions outside being generally destroyed by the besieging party.

After the fort was finished, they carried there, and placed in the rising ground in its middle the house of their Callow. This was of a square form and higher than all the others²—it was very handsomely decorated inside with shells, spears, clubs, bows, arrows, and other implements of war. Their small sleeping-huts followed the house of the God. These are easily transported, as they are divided in four pieces; the two sides, and two ends are put up and taken down in a few minutes. They possess two other descriptions of houses; one in which their provisions are cooked, and another, which they use as their common residence. These are much larger than the huts they sleep in, and as they are not taken to the fort during the war, are mostly burnt by the enemy. The houses they live in are particularly handsome, neatly worked inside with reeds, the floors are covered with mats, and are kept remarkably clean. The King is the owner of the largest and most handsome, and in this, with respect to show, is the only thing in which he differs from his subjects; his dress cannot be distinguished from that of any of his people. The houses being lodged in the fort, and every preparation made,

¹ *Mandrai* is native “bread” made by burying in the ground pulped bread-fruit, plantains or other such vegetable substances.

² The *Bure Kalou*, or priest’s house, was usually so large and so substantially constructed that it is difficult to conceive of its being bodily transported.

a scene took place, which appeared to me well adapted to their present situation. The chief of every family in the place brought what little property he had, consisting of mats, cloths, baskets, &c., of which one general parcel was made and then equally divided among the whole. Some who before had more than others were now on the same footing as those that had less; yet every one seemed satisfied.

Everything being now ready for the reception of the enemy, the natives enjoyed themselves in their out-houses, in fishing &c., as they did not think the enemy, as the King told me, would make an attack upon them for some time.

By this time our boat was in great forwardness. The King asked me one day, what I intended to do with it, to which I answered, that if the enemy, meaning the several islanders, did not soon come to attack us, I would go, and attack them at their own islands. My stock of powder was about 20 lbs.¹ which I made into cartridges, and some balls from lead. The natives seeing these preparations expected to derive much advantage from my assistance.

On the 9th. of Sept., the King told me that the next day I must go with him to see the fort of Tattalepo². This was a district of a petty chief named Walabatoo³, who was subject to the King. We accordingly set out with twenty canoes, and with us we had a number of the King's principal men. Every one was armed, and that I might be like the others, my body was painted black; I had a musket on my back, and two pairs of pistols, all loaded. When we arrived, we were received by all the old men and the chief, with a great deal of ceremony and respect. The natives both men and women were employed in constructing their fort. The King had a long conference with the old men, who declared their willingness to assist him in the war, and to defend themselves to

¹ One version of the Journal makes the stock of gunpowder only two pounds.

² Tattalepo (elsewhere spelt Tatilipo) is Tathi-Levu, which was a town near the present town of Navunieu, a few miles westward from the town of Mbua. See postscript XVI, p. 84. It seems strange that the people of a town so near Mbua should have revolted from the Chief of that place.

³ Walabatoo's true name was obviously Vale-vatu, the Fijian equivalent for stone-house.

the last extremity, should they be able to have their fort completed before the arrival of the enemy. We feasted on yams and bread-fruit, &c. and remained with them all night. The moon shining we joined them in dancing; it being a part of their worship to dance while the moon shines. The men and women dance in separate bodies. They keep excellent time with their song, during which some play on a hollow bamboo, which they blow with their nose; it produces a sound somewhat like our fife¹. By the King's order next morning I fired the musket and pistols, taking care to put two balls into each, and to fire into the wood. The natives were astonished when they saw the bark fly from the trees, and the balls sink into a number of them. They wished me to show them more of my thunder, as they called it; but I had no desire to satisfy them further, or let them know the muskets would do no execution without they were charged. The old King was the only one that knew this secret; he had the courage to fire one pistol, but the others dare not touch them. The King having settled his affairs, we departed for Myemboo by land, with ten of the natives for company. The canoes were sent round loaded with bread-fruit, &c. which the King had been presented with. On our way to Myemboo I shot some wild-ducks, that I gave to the old Queen; but I soon after repented my generosity, for she liked them so much as to wish me to get her a few every day; however in such a way I had not much ammunition to spend.

The 15th. Sept. about two hundred people arrived from the island of Migora² to offer their services to the King to assist him in the war. They were not immediately admitted to the royal presence, but were lodged in a house outside of the fort appropriated for the reception of strangers. Every village has a home for strangers. The King appointed the following day for receiving them, before which time none of the King's subjects were permitted to have any communication with them, excepting some old men who carried them provisions. I visited these strangers previous to their obtaining their audience, and found them engaged in cleaning

¹ See postscript XVII, p. 84.

² Migora: see p. 12 *n. ante.*

their spears and clubs, painting their bodies, &c. Those who were armed with bows and arrows painted themselves all over with turmeric and cocoa-nut oil: those armed with spears were painted from their navel upwards all black, and red from that part downwards; those, with slings and clubs, were painted entirely black, their heads and arms excepted, which were red. All of them had long pieces of white cloth tied to their hair, arms, and round their clubs and spears. They were all stout, able bodied men; most of them upwards of six feet high. War was their profession, being mercenary kind of troops, who fought for those who paid them best, and to me they appeared well fitted for it. At noon the King and about five hundred of his men assembled together before his house, and squatting down upon their hams, they formed a kind of half moon: in the middle of which were placed a number of hogs, cooked plantains and yams, with bundles of spears, clubs, &c. A messenger was then despatched to inform the strangers that the King was ready to receive them. Soon afterwards they appeared; those carrying bows came first, and ranged themselves in front. The King was now standing in the middle of the half circle with a spear in his hand, when one of the strangers advanced towards him making his reverence or signs of submission; which being ended they entered into agreement respecting the war. During the time this took place, one of the party was ridding himself of a large burden of cloth, about one hundred yards in length: it was wrapped round his body, so that in unfolding it he had to turn round perhaps a hundred times before he got himself disengaged; which to one unaccustomed to such work, could certainly be no easy task. When this scene was finished the King gave to each of them a bow and bundle of arrows. They then moved to one side to make way to those armed with spears who came next. The ceremony that now took place was much the same as the first, with this difference, that the King told them, when the war was over, and they had returned the spears with an account of what they had done with them, he would pay them accordingly. The Club men followed, and their ceremony ended, three of the King's

old men laid the hogs, yams, &c. before the strangers, who took them up without saying another word to anyone, and went back to the house they had formerly occupied. The cloth that had been brought was then divided among the King's people; a share of which he only got; part was given to me, and all seemed content. The night coming on they were joined by their visitors when the dance and song began as usual.

A few days afterwards a singular ceremony happened. The King had sent to the district of Myendam for an old decrepit man, whom they called a Callow and being remarkably deformed in his person, he was thought superior to all the other Callows on the island. This man was put into the house of their Callow, and four of the King's old men with him; I also had permission to go. The King remained outside of the house, and at times conversed with the Callow. This old man so decrepit and worn out with age, as he entered the house, supported himself with a stick, which made me think he was scarcely able to bear his own weight. The event proved how much I was mistaken, for he soon began to jump and skip, and beat the floor with his stick, to swing and twist his limbs and body to such a degree as to put himself into so great a perspiration, that induced me to think he was certainly mad. When he had done, and had prognosticated something in favour of the King and his people, they were well pleased with his performance. Something was then brought him to eat, but his endeavours to pry into futurity had lost him his appetite, and he was so fatigued that he laid himself down on the ground, and went to rest. I asked the old King if he thought that this old man could tell him anything of future events. He said he did not know, but he was thought to be a very great Callow, and that it was his duty to believe him. I desired to know if he thought that the provisions which were every day put before the Callow's house door were eaten by the Callow himself. He could not tell, he said, but if he did not, it was his duty always to leave some there for him. Fortunately for me he seldom neglected this duty, as I generally made my supper out of what was

intended for the Callow; but this was only known to myself. They have a temporarily Callow for almost everything, but they still believe in as many invisible ones, who they suppose have power over the winds, waters, fish, fowls, &c.: in short, in their opinion, everything has a Callow of its own species.

A ceremony on the 25th. of Septr. took place among the women, to whom the fishing department is allotted. For some time past they had been employed in making new nets. About two hundred of them collected together in a cleared place of ground in the wood, at the upper end of which was the grave of a favorite Callow, who had been a tutelar deity of the fisheries, and had died some time before. This place was ornamented with cloth, fish-bones, shells &c. by the women. There was a number of men present but they took no part in the ceremony. The women spread out their nets, took some boiled yams, and with one hand over the net and the other under, they broke the yams in two. This was done to every net. They then commenced a dance and song in honor of their Callow, and afterwards set out to catch fish. Their nets were about three yards square. They go where there is about three feet depth of water, when the women form a half circle with their nets: the men meanwhile beat the water with sticks and drive the fish into the snare; the women then close the circle, until they meet all in the middle and the fish by this means are completely surrounded. Afterwards the nets are taken up, and generally are full, for there is plenty of fish.

Our boat was now almost ready; it was launched, our yams for sea-stock had been already taken up, water was stowed in the bottom of the boat in hollow bamboos, and the people were employed in making sails out of mats, and rigging out of sennet, made from the husk of the cocoa-nut.

The enemy was expected to arrive in a few days. On the 28th. of Sept. the natives retired into the fort, but not before they had burned all their out-houses, destroyed the plantain trees, bread-fruit trees, cocoa-nut trees, &c.¹, that they might

¹ The coco-nut palm is of such enormous importance to the South Sea Islander, and it takes so long for it to come into full bearing—though its

not fall into the hands of the enemy. They had placed upon the tops of some of the highest cocoa-nut trees, baskets, in which a man could sit conveniently, to see the enemy when they made their appearance. On these trees pieces of wood were lashed, which made their ascent and descent very easy. To my great joy, as I was upon one of the trees on the morning of the 2nd. of Oct., I discovered a sail, which at first I took for a large canoe, but as she approached I perceived she was rigged in the European manner. She came to an anchor in the bay, and soon after I saw a boat making for the shore. It was not long before I communicated this welcome intelligence to my unfortunate companions, who were so overjoyed at the news, that it made them forget the distance there still was between them and their friends in America, and even to suppose they were already amongst them. As for myself I felt quite sensible of the interposition of Divine providence in directing a vessel to that unfrequented part of the world, at the very time that I was determining whether to embark in a small boat in an immense sea, ill provided with necessaries for a voyage of the kind before me, or wait the result of a war with a set of cannibals, whose manner of warfare I knew little of.

It may be said by some who may read this plain and undisguised narrative of facts, that my case was no worse than Captn. Bligh's of the ship *Bounty*. Let such please to recollect Captn. Bligh was supplied with charts, instruments, provisions, sails, and ammunition, and also with more men; all of which I was indifferently provided with.

To return from this digression: whatever my former opinion might have been, from this time I was fully convinced of the interposition of a Supreme Being in the affairs of men, and that we should always resign ourselves to his

fruitfulness once attained outlasts several generations of its owners—that it is difficult to believe that the Mbuans really destroyed their coco-nut trees before retiring into the fort, whatever they may have done in the case of the more easily replaceable plantains or even the breadfruit trees. This is the one important statement by Lockerby which seems quite incredible. Probably the most the Mbuans did on this occasion was to destroy such of the growing coco-nuts as they did not take with them into the fort.

beneficent will, with full confidence in his never failing protection.

I now thought my troubles were at an end, but the reader will find how much I was mistaken, when he reads that the sufferings I had hitherto endured were comparatively mere trifles to those which followed, and that the most interesting part of my narrative is yet to commence.

The vessel proved to be the Brig Favorite from Port Jackson, William Camble¹, Commander; this gentleman received me on board, and treated me with the greatest kindness². He told me he was come for a cargo of Sandle-wood, and that when it was procured, he was bound to Canton in China, to which place he would give me a passage. In return for his kindness I offered him my services, as I could speak the language, to procure a cargo of Sandlewood. These he willingly accepted, but as the natives expected the war would break out in a short time, we did not expect to be able to carry on much trade with them at present.

On board the Favorite there was a Mr. Graham a gentleman passenger who wished to see the interior of the island. I went with him on the 6th. to see the chief Gorabato³, to engage him to cut wood for the ship. This chief was subject to the King of Myemboo, and had his fort upon an inaccessible rock in the middle of the island. We departed in the morning, and by noon had penetrated about seven miles into

¹ Camble or, as Lockerby elsewhere writes, Cample, was really William Campbell, then famous in the South Seas and in the East Indies as the owner and master of the "Harrington," of which ship and its Captain a very full history has been prepared, and, it is to be hoped, will soon be published, by Mr B. Glanvill Corney. Captain Campbell, on the occasion when he found Lockerby in Fiji, had temporarily taken charge of the "Favorite," the "Harrington" having been seized and carried off by convicts, in May 1808 [H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818], while being fitted out for a voyage to Fiji for sandalwood.

The "Favorite" was an American brig of 245 tons, carrying a crew of 25 men and armed with four guns.

² See postscript XVIII, p. 84.

³ "Gorabato" should really be Koro-vatu (*koro* = town, *vatu* = stone or rock). It is the name of a town, from which this Chief took his name, which stood on a rocky hill a short distance inland from the town of Mbua, but connected with it was a fishing village about three miles north of Naithombothombo.

a wood, when we were stopped by about five and twenty natives, who rushed out of it, brandishing their spears. Mr. Graham was much alarmed. I asked them in their own language what chief they belonged to, which surprised them no little. They told me Gorabato. He being the chief whom I wished to see, one of the natives went with us to shew us the way. At four o'clock we arrived at the fort, and after some difficulty in getting up the rock, we saw the chief. I gave him the presents Captn. Camble had sent, and mentioned to him the purport of my visit. When the war was over he told me he and his people would cut wood, but at present it was impossible. He then asked me if I had seen any of the enemy on my way. I said no. He said that the night before they had landed and carried off some of his people. He likewise informed me, that he and the chief of Tatelepo had agreed to join the enemy. His reason for so acting was to be revenged on the chief of Taffear, who was the King of Myemboo's nephew, for the many depredations the former had committed on the different islands. They advised us to stay all night with them, and in the morning the chief said he could send a party of his men with us to protect us from the enemy. This counsel I would gladly have taken, for the night was fast approaching, and I was apprehensive we might not find our way through the wood; but Mr. Graham having heard so much of the war, was afraid to remain the night, and having eaten some bread-fruit, we set out towards Myemboo Bay. The woods being very thick, the pathways narrow and the night approaching, we were in continual fear lest we should fall in with some of the natives. We travelled until midnight, when we were completely at a loss which way to pursue. It was so dark that we could not see the footpaths. We at last concluded we must have taken a wrong direction, from the distance we had come. Mr. Graham proposed to take that direction we thought led to the bay, without following the footpaths; which we did by forcing our way through the wood for some miles, sometimes crawling upon all fours, at other times scrambling over roots and stumps of trees, forcing our way through briars and bamboos which tore our clothes

entirely to pieces, and bruised and scratched our bodies in a shocking manner. Our distressful situation was made still more intolerable by the immense number of the largest kind of snakes¹ that we disturbed and which kept hissing about us; they were not the most venomous, yet we found them, as it may well be believed, no very pleasant companions. We were also tormented by the sand-fly and mosquito. These plagues, besides the want of food and water, and the dampness of the air in a wood, without clothes to protect ourselves from it, reduced us to a most pitiable condition. We took it by turns to go ahead, in order to clear the way, until at length I became so overcome with fatigue I could go no further, and consequently laid myself down. The snakes alarmed Mr. Graham too much to allow him to follow my example, so he left me. However he soon returned and reported he had been stopped by a large rock, which he had not been able to pass. I prevailed on him to remain with me about half an hour, during which time he betook himself to a tree to avoid the snakes &c. As for myself I got some sleep, and found myself much refreshed from it. We then proceeded by taking a different direction to that we had come, when we ultimately got into a footpath which we followed, until we came to a grove of cocoa-nut trees. This indeed was a welcome sight, but they were too high for us to get any of the fruit. This footpath we kept till we arrived at some huts of the natives, that proved to be the town of Tatelepo. We were very much afraid lest we should alarm its inhabitants, and they fall upon us in the dark before we could inform them who we were. Hunger and fatigue however induced us to enter one of their cooking-houses, which was empty, the natives having retired to their fort. We found nothing but some of their sour paste²; this Mr. Graham could not eat, but for myself I found now the

¹ Snakes were formerly abundant in the Fiji Islands and were highly esteemed as an article of food—which were reserved by the Chiefs for their own use—much as turtles still are. Since the introduction of the mongoose they have become rare in Vanua Levu and the other large islands.

² “Sour paste,” i.e. the fermented native bread, most frequently made of the bread-fruit. In this sour state it is called by the natives *mundraiwiwi*. See note on p. 29 *ante*.

advantage of having lived among the natives; I eat some of it, and with a drink of water, made a hearty meal. We then kindled a fire, and lay down by it, until daylight. Being almost naked we were supplied by the people of the village with a mossey¹ each, to cover our nakedness, and afterwards put on board our ship in a canoe, as sick of our land-cruise as ever two poor fellows were.

The 6th. of October the ship General Wellesley² arrived from the straits of Malacca, commanded by Captain Dalrymple³, and had been out nine months, having come round New Holland. The first and second mates had died, with about sixty⁴ of the crew. Captain D. was also in a bad state of health. The same day I sailed with two boats to Highley Bay; at which place I remained till the 10th. without being able to obtain any wood from the natives; who had secured themselves in their fort expecting the enemy. Finding I could get no wood, I determined to return. The Bay of Highley is so formed, that when at the head of it you can not see the mouth. When I got out into the middle of the Bay I had the mortification and disappointment to perceive its mouth covered with at least one hundred and fifty of the enemy's canoes. This was the fleet of the combined Islanders who were going to attack the King of Myemboo's nephew⁵,

¹ "Mossey" is *masi* (the more usual synonym is *malo*). It is the bark of the paper mulberry beaten into strips and used for many purposes, but especially for the loin-cloth of the men.

² The "General Wellesley," of 400 tons, 15 guns, and 50 men.

³ David Dalrymple was Captain of the "General Wellesley" (owned by David Dalrymple & Co. of Madras) when she arrived, via Port Jackson, at Mbua Bay from Prince of Wales' Island (Penang). The much more famous Alexander Dalrymple, the hydrographer, who was the younger brother of Sir David Dalrymple, Lord Hailes, spent most of his life in the Far East, in the service of the East India Company, and in pushing that Company's trade (which at the time in question had recently established its easternmost outpost at Prince of Wales' Island) farther and farther eastward. Alexander Dalrymple was especially keen about securing the trade to the South Sea Islands, and it was in that connection that he published his *Account of Discoveries in the South Pacific*. It seems quite possible that there was some connection between the hydrographer and the Captain. Both, by the way, died in the same year.

⁴ According to Captain Campbell the number of the crew who died during the voyage round Australia was about 20, not 60 (see p. 192 *post*).

⁵ Tavea was to be attacked before Mbua.

on the island of Taffier. The chief, Bulendam, had the command of this expedition. I was at this time in the launch, with seven men; a Mr. Smith was in the whale boat with six men¹. To have attempted to run from this formidable armament I was convinced would be useless, and to try to defend ourselves against such a superiority of numbers I also knew would be madness. I therefore thought it best to shew a confidence in them by steering directly towards them, and I was the more inclined to do this, as they were holding up yams, cocoa nuts &c. to invite us to come towards them. I then made for the largest canoe, thinking to fall into the hands of Bulendam, but unfortunately I got along side of the canoe belonging to the chief of the island of Ambow². I was no sooner within their reach, than several of the men jumped into my boat, plundered it of every thing they could find, and dragged me and my comrades on board their canoe, where we were stripped to the skin and then tumbled down into the hold. Mr. Smith, seeing what reception I had met with, attempted to escape, but he and his companions were soon overtaken by one of the canoes, and likewise made prisoners. Luckily for them they fell into the hands of Bulendam, who knew he could not get up the river to attack the King of Myemboo without first having obtained permission from the ships, which both lay at the mouth of the river. He knowing this to be the case would gladly have released the whole of us, could he have prevailed on the other chiefs to give their consent; however this was an obstacle he could not surmount. I told them if we were delivered up to the ships, the ransom they would get for us would be large; but neither the reasoning of the king nor my persuasions produced the least effect. Several were already anticipating the rich repast our mangled bodies would make them; and our sacrifice would have been inevitable, had not one of the old Callows interfered. These men are looked upon by the natives in time of war as unerring prophets, and their prophecies highly respected. On this occasion he had recourse

¹ For Mr Smith's version of the incident, which differs little from Lockerby's, see p. 193 *et seq.*

² This is only the second mention of Ambau (Mbau).

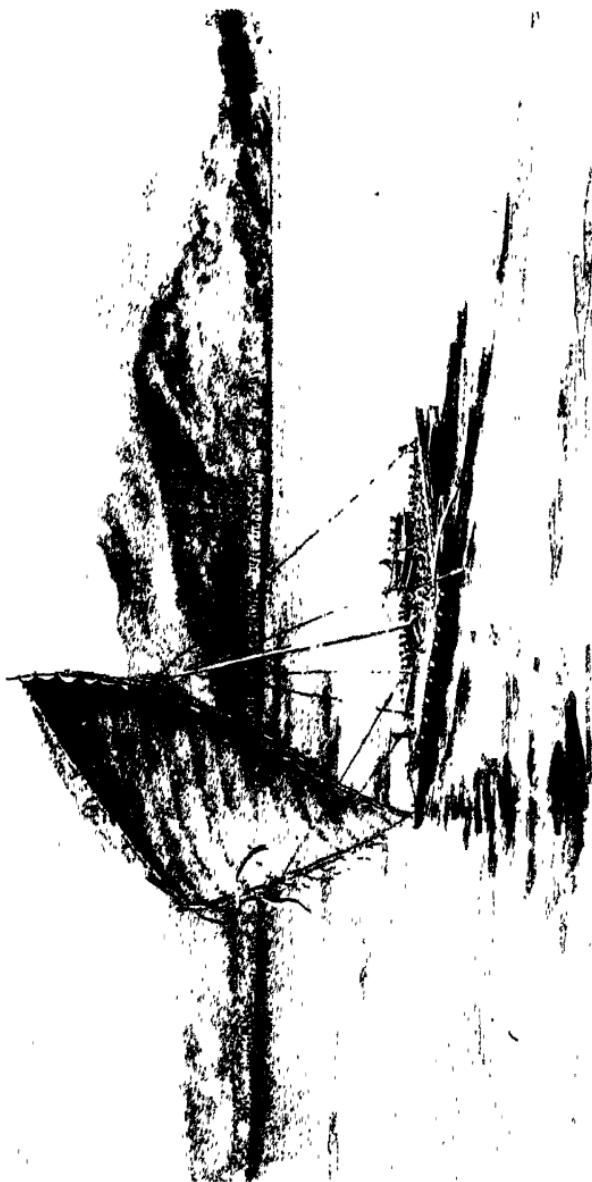


PLATE 3. A FIJIAN WAR CANOE [NDRUA]

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to the mysteries of his profession ; he seized hold of a cocoanut and after whirling it round several times on the deck of the canoe, he declared that our death was not desired, and that our presence in battle would be advantageous to them¹. My clothes were then given to me, but my comrades were obliged to sleep upon the deck of the canoe all night without a thread upon them.

The following morning all the fleet was under sail steering towards the isle of Taffier with a fresh breeze. The canoe I was in, was one of the largest kind of double-canoes ; it consisted of two single ones joined together by a platform, in the middle of which the mast is fixed. Round the sides of the platform there is a strong breastwork of bamboos, behind which they stand in engaging an enemy. There is also a house on the platform which is erected and taken down as circumstances require. The number of men on board amounted to two hundred. Captain Cook's account of the swift sailing of these vessels is quite correct, however incredible it may appear to those who have not seen them. With a moderate wind they will sail twenty miles an hour².

At 10 a.m. the canoe I was in reached the island of Taffier ; the other part of the fleet not sailing so fast as we did, were about four miles astern. The crew of the canoe then got down their sail and house, strung their bows, and prepared for action. Before this was well performed, five small canoes carrying ten men each, came from the island to attack us. A man was stationed at both ends of our canoe, each having a long pole ; by this means they kept the breastwork between them and the enemy. The battle was begun by a volley of stones from the slings ; bows and arrows were then used, and as they neared each other they fought with spears and clubs. We should certainly have been taken if some of the light canoes of our party had not come up to our assistance, which made the islanders desist from the combat, and retreat into their fort, leaving the canoes in our possession. Several of them were wounded. On our side the chief and some others

¹ See postscript XIX, p. 84.

² Cook's *Voyage to Pacific Ocean* (1776), Vol. I, p. 376.

were wounded; and the canoe struck all over with spears and arrows.

At 4 p.m. the whole fleet of one hundred and fifty canoes had arrived, when the island was surrounded; which was about three miles in circumference, and completely barricaded all round with bamboos, stones &c. On the island there were about six hundred men. In the course of the afternoon the enemy made several sallies, in which many were wounded on both sides. Only one prisoner was taken, who was sent to the canoe I was in. At night all the canoes left the island, and ran over to the main-land, it being distant from it four miles. Between this and the island there is a number of beds of coral rock. When we reached the main-land fires were kindled along the shore, round which a number of the party slept all night. The man that had been taken prisoner eat some yams that were given to him, and spoke about the war and other matters with great cheerfulness. He had several stumps of arrows in his body. Those who had been wounded were busily engaged in extracting the broken pieces of spears and arrows from their bodies, which they did in a very rough manner, with shells and pieces of bamboos. As their spears and arrows are generally pointed with the bill of the guard-fish¹ and other fish bones, it is impossible to get them out of the flesh without making incisions round them. I observed they did not assist the prisoner to dress his wounds: they told me they would be dressed in the morning, which they were with a vengeance, for at daylight he was brought forward by order of the Callow, and by a blow on the head with a club an end was put to his sufferings and existence together. He was about fifty years of age. His body was cut up and divided among the chiefs, who made a hearty breakfast of it. Some of my companions, I am sorry to say, eat a part of it involuntarily, mistaking it for pork, as it was cooked, and resembled it very much.

The attack on the island was continued for three days, and each day about twenty prisoners were taken; and at night they returned to the main land, upon which they always

¹ *I.e.* with the long spear-like snout of the gar-fish.

hauled up their canoes, and there they cooked and eat the bodies of their prisoners, packing up in baskets what was left.

In the morning of the 15th. of Octr. at break of day a canoe was sent over to the island the crew of which landed, and finding it evacuated by the natives, they set fire to one of the houses; at which signal all the canoes went over, and the men landed, leaving only two or three in each canoe to take care of them. Those on shore soon commenced to carry away the hogs, plantains, yams, mats, baskets, fishing nets and all the plunder they could get. When they could find no more they set fire to every house, and burnt or cut down all the cocoa-nut, breadfruit, yams and plantain trees which the island was covered with.

About one p.m. preparations were made for leaving the island, when some of the natives by chance went into a long point of mangroves that projected from the island, where they discovered the retreat of about 350 old men, women and children. It appears that the Islanders finding they would be overpowered by numbers, some got away to the main-land in canoes, and others effected their escape by swimming; but these unfortunate, helpless beings not being able to accomplish it, had betaken themselves to this place for safety. They had not long to remain in suspense, for no sooner were they discovered than a general massacre took place; some were knocked down with clubs and lanced with spears &c. Several of the younger class attempted to run away. These their murderers pursued as they would chase a wild beast, and before they were overtaken had a number of arrows in different parts of their bodies. They were then dragged by the feet and hands over the rocks to the canoes which laid about 300 yards from the shore. Every one strove all he could to make the most prisoners. I saw two men bring down at one time five. Each of them had a pole, at the ends of which were hanging two children, and between them they dragged by the feet a woman of about forty years of age, most probably the mother of those four that were suspended from the poles. When this woman reached the canoe she was not quite dead, although she had been dragged a con-

siderable way over rocks and through water; she had also received a wound on the side of the head with a club. They then placed her upright in the canoe and gave her some fresh water: she I believe might have recovered again, but one of the infernal monsters by one blow with his club, laid her silent for ever. No quarters were given to any but a boy about ten¹ years old, who was remarkably deformed in his limbs and body; he, they said, was a Callow.

The scene of horror that I and my comrades here witnessed, who were all the time naked, with death pictured in our countenances, surpasses conception, and it is impossible for me to convey to the mind of the reader an adequate idea of this terrible scene of human misery. The shrieks and groans of the wounded and dying; the songs, the dance, and the hellish yells of the conquerors; their savage looks and gestures, and when the reader can fancy these, and our miserable situation, he may perhaps form some, though unequal representation of it. On board the canoe I was in, there were forty two dead bodies, and as the sun was very hot, water was thrown at times upon them. Night coming on the fleet left the island and went over to the main-land as usual. That night and next day they spent in cutting up and cooking the dead bodies of their prisoners. Some were cooked whole in the ground upon hot stones covered over with green leaves and earth, but the most of them were cut in pieces and after being broiled on the fire, they packed up what then was not eaten in baskets made from the branches of the cocoa-nut trees. They were very solicitous not to lose any part of the body; the head was held over the fire to singe off the hair—afterwards it was scraped with shells and made up with the rest of the body: the soles of the feet were also held over the fire, and then the skin, which might be half an inch thick, was peeled off in the manner the skin of a pig's foot is taken off. The foot that before was black became white by this operation. In order that no part should be lost they cleaned the intestines in the water by turning them inside out upon sticks; they were then broiled over the fire and eaten: these

¹ The word is perhaps two, not ten.

were considered by them the most delicate part of the body. The reader may find such details as these disgusting, but still they may show into what an abyss of dreadful depravity these poor wretches are sunk. I myself escaped with much difficulty from being a partaker of their abominable messes. After I had been almost four days without food I was offered a part of a man's leg; on which I told them if I eat any it would kill me, but this they would not believe. One more considerate than the rest brought me the piece of a child; this he said would not hurt me, and to demonstrate what he advanced he pointed to a woman, who had a child sucking at her breast eating some of the same, and observed that as it did not injure her, it could not hurt me. I then told him it was not the *bagola* (the name they give to human flesh) I was afraid of, but it was my Callow, who would punish me if I were to eat it. In this way I got clear from eating of their *bagola*¹ at this time, but I was obliged to eat yams cooked in the same pot. They put the flesh or what they want to cook into them; the pot is then placed into a hole in the ground, which is covered over with red hot stones and green leaves; afterwards they cover all with dry earth, and in a short time their provisions are sufficiently done.

On the 17th. all the canoes got under weigh, and proceeded towards Myemboo Bay, where the ships were at anchor. The wind being right ahead we did not arrive at Highley Bay until the 21st. Here in the night I might have made my escape, but as in this case I must have left behind my companions I did not make the attempt.

On the 22nd. we got behind the point of land that forms the west side of Myemboo Bay². In the night one of the company got away, travelled across the point of land, and next day was taken on board ship by Captn. Camble in the General Wellesley's launch. It appeared that Capt: C. had

¹ The Fijian word is properly *Mbokola*, which means human flesh to be used as food.

² The native name for the Point on the western side of Mbua Bay is *Naithombothombo*; that of the corresponding Point on the east is *Lekumbi* (or Mangrove Point). The distance between the two is four and a half miles.

be angry with him. The man's dead body was soon after brought out, and bundled into the grave (as it was too short to lay it at full length), at the bottom of which a mat was spread. A mat was then laid at the edge of the grave, on which the woman was placed, with her feet upon the dead body. In this posture she remained half an hour without speaking a word to anyone. The other women now brought some calabashes of oil, and other things as presents to her, when she rubbed some of the oil on her body. She did not appear the least uneasy about her approaching fate. I gave her a few beads, of which she took little notice, and handed them to the old chief, who was afraid to receive them. He returned them to me, saying he would give me cocoa-nuts or anything he had, but the woman's life he could not save. A piece of their cloth twisted like the strand of a rope was then put round her neck with a round turn. One man at each end of this rope pulled it tight, while another kept her eyes closed, and a woman held her feet together. Her hands were loose. She did not make the least resistance. Her body soon became amazingly swollen, and very much convulsed. As soon as she was thought to be dead, the rope was taken from her neck. She afterwards however showed signs of life, when the rope was again applied. One man held her head down, and four others drew the cord so very tight that they almost separated the head from her body. The corpse was then put into the grave, and covered with mats, over which they placed earth and stones. Having witnessed the horrid deed, I was about to return to the boat, when I found the old King appeared to be much alarmed. He said he was afraid of the white man's Calow, and would make him a present of cocoa-nuts, some of which he begged me to accept of for him; but I refused. I then left the place, and immediately went on board ship: she was laying within half a mile of the shore. The same night we fired several guns from the ship loaded with shot. Before daylight we landed and burned some of their houses, cut down several trees, &c. The natives had all of them deserted the village, and taken shelter in the wood. A few days afterwards they returned,

strongest party, taken the canoe from them, and carried it to the ships. Had it not been for me and the man left behind, the seamen would have taken summary vengeance on those they had in their power, for the sufferings they had undergone. All the time they were in the hands of the natives they had been naked, and their bodies dreadfully scorched by the sun. The men too that had taken them on board were the very rascals who had stripped them of their clothes, and were wearing at the same time some of their shirts. Several of the sailors' tin pots &c. were also on board the canoe. These articles the seamen demanded, and on their refusing to deliver them up, they were taken from them by force. This enraged them so much that when they were about leaving the ship they threatened what they would do to me and the man in their power; Captn. C- then thought it most advisable to detain some of them on board until we should be delivered up. Accordingly (not without difficulty) two chiefs were secured, and the canoe was sent back to the others. When they arrived the disappointment manifested was great; expecting as they did a considerable gratuity as I had endeavoured to persuade them, they now found that instead of it, two of their principal chiefs were prisoners. On the return of the canoe and hearing this intelligence, they all crowded about me, some of them brandishing their clubs over my head. I expected every moment would be my last. At length Bulendam and the father of one of the chiefs prisoners on board ransomed me and my comrade from the chief who had us in his possession for two whale's teeth, two tomahawks and two pieces of iron. We were told at the same time that if the white men did not kill the two chiefs they would not kill me; but if they were killed I should suffer the same fate. To this I consented, not suspecting the least harm would happen to them while they remained on board. Night setting in the canoes were hauled to Mangrove Point¹ on the east side of the bay, about seven miles from the ships. At 12 o'clock at night I made an attempt to swim from them, but I was discovered, and although I tried to persuade them

¹ Lekumbi Point; see note, p. 45.

I was only bathing or washing myself, they would not believe me. I was afterwards watched very closely.

The next day, the 24th. Oct., the fourteenth day I had been their prisoner, all the chiefs and old men went on shore to the point of land, and soon after sent for me and Thos. Berry, (the name of my companion). When we landed we were told the two chiefs had been killed; but I said it was not so; and to convince them of this truth if they would carry Berry on board they would get one of their chiefs, who would inform them how he had been treated, and then they might treat me accordingly. Some of them would have agreed to this; but the greater part were for delivering us up at once, in order that they might proceed to attack the old King, from whom they expected a good deal of plunder. The latter being resolved upon, thirty canoes were dispatched towards the ships. We were in the sternmost of them, and it was their intention to give us our liberty on receiving their two chiefs. The natives in the headmost canoes commenced their song, which was considered by Captn. Camble as the signal for an attack upon the ships. So when they arrived within musket shot of them, they fired several broadsides of grape shot among the canoes, which sank seven and killed a number of the natives. I tried to make them believe that they were only showing us how far the balls would go; but this was of little use. I could not shut their eyes from seeing the dead bodies of their friends floating past us. Berry and I were then lashed by the neck, hands and feet to the deck of the canoe, which was at this time with the others returning to those they had left. Then I felt certain an end would be put to our existence; and to make myself visible to the ship's company, I induced the natives to fasten me round the mast of the canoe. This fully answered my purpose, for Captn. Camble soon discovered me from the deck of his ship, which was about a mile distant; and soon after I saw a small boat come from her with four Lascars. Captn. C- had sent along with them a large present as our ransom. This they would not receive, and demanded the two chiefs, on the arrival of whom they would give us up; but how great was my surprise

and disappointment when I heard that the two chiefs were dead! The night before they had attempted to make their escape, and Captn. C— conceived if they effected it, no mercy would be shown me. They succeeded so far in getting away, that the crew were obliged to kill them, as they could not hinder their escape in any other manner¹. When I was informed of this I lost all hope; and recommended my soul to the Almighty. Never do I think of this awful and perilous moment, with death and the thought of being mangled and devoured by these savages, without feeling sensible of the interposition of the Divine Being in preserving my life.

The person who communicated to me the death of the two chiefs spoke in the Bengalee language, so the natives did not know they were dead. I sent word to Captn. Camble that there was a probability of his taking me from them by force, which was the only hope I had left. When the Lascars left me I told the natives I had sent for the two chiefs, who would soon arrive; and I then prevailed on them to make their canoes fast to a coral reef to wait till the chiefs should come. The reef was two miles from the ships. At this time there were about twenty canoes with us. I persuaded them to send ten away, by saying the small boat would come immediately with the two chiefs, but when they saw so many canoes they would be afraid to approach near enough for them to be able to receive them, or me to be delivered up. This reasoning had the desired effect; ten canoes left us. The remainder had about 16 men in each. I saw the Wellesley's cutter hauled round to the opposite side; by this movement I conjectured they were going to attempt my rescue. While they were making preparations on board to come to my assistance, although I was then bound, I danced and sung and otherwise amused the natives, to take their attention from the ship. I was told afterwards that when Captain C— heard of my situation, he and fourteen brave fellows voluntarily offered their services to save the lives of two brother seamen, or perish in the attempt. The sailors each armed with a musket, cutlass &c. lay flat down in the bottom of the

¹ See postscript XX, p. 84.

cutter. Two black men, their backs towards the canoes, personated the two chiefs who had been killed. Captain C- was in the stern sheets with a swivel loaded with grape, & a man steering the boat.

In this manner they came towards us. I told the natives it was the same small boat, which had come before. As soon as Captn. C- got within hail of me, he asked me if I could swim; I said, yes, but I was then bound. I requested him to come within pistol shot, and on the first fire the natives would jump overboard to escape the musket balls, when I should have time to unbind myself, before they regained their canoes.

Captn. C- had given orders to his men to lie in the bottom of the boat until he should give them orders to fire; but the man who was steering being alarmed, cried out that the boat was grounding on the coral reef. On this, the seamen jumped up, and began a regular fire among the natives; who on the first report all jumped overboard. Being now alone, I got my neck and hands loose, and sprang down into the water, but in the hurry I got my legs entangled in a rope, which prevented me from making my escape. When I was about two fathoms under water I was brought up by the feet—several of the natives then laid hold of me, and again dragged me on board the canoe. One of them struck me with his club on the lower part of my left jaw-bone, the effects of which I shall feel while I live. The battle now waxed hot on both sides. The Europeans were attacked by the islanders with their spears, and their arrows flew thick; but as the boat's gunwale was high its crew did not suffer much; meanwhile the seamen were picking out the natives fast, as they were little more than pistol shot distant. The swivel too did great execution. At every fire the natives leaped into the water, and it being quite smooth, it was quite red with their blood. A number of them in the water were nearly dead, yet they did not show any signs of desiring quarter. In every interval between the firing, they endeavoured to secure me; several were shot in the act of doing so. Berry, who all this time had been lying bound on the deck of the canoe, con-

trived to get himself loose, and sprang overboard. As the boat could not take him up, an oar was thrown to him, on which he got and swam towards the ship. By this time there were only six or seven natives with me in the canoe; the others being either killed, or having gone on board some of the other canoes. I frequently jumped overboard but was as often dragged on board again. At last I sprang into the water, and went to the bottom in four fathoms: I remained underneath it as long as I was able, taking the direction towards the boat. When I came to the surface of the water, I was almost suffocated with the quantity I had swallowed. However I was immediately seen by one of the natives, and as quickly seized by him. I was then within ten yards of the boat. He being both stronger and more expert in the water than I, he succeeded in getting me under him, and I was drowning fast, when he was struck by a ball; on which he left me. I was now under the bow of the boat, and in the act of sinking. My brave deliverers picked me up. Supposing life was extinct, they took to their oars and pulled for the ship as fast as possible. On the way Berry was picked up. They were chased by these savages, who had been joined by a number of others, till they got within reach of the ship's big guns, which were fired upon them, and several of the canoes were sunk.

The warm reception the natives met with at the ships, made them despair of being able to attack the King of Myemboo. On the same day the combined fleet dispersed, each party to its own island: their numbers being somewhat less than when they left them.

I was taken on board the brig Favorite, where my wounds were dressed &c.; and from Captn. Camble and his officers I received every assistance I could wish. In a few days I was able to go on shore to see the old King, who was still afraid the enemy would land on some part of the island. In his fort several of the seamen with six seapoys from the General Wellesley remained; they had with them two four pounders and ammunition. The King sent his people into the wood accompanied by an armed party from the ships,

to cut sandlewood. About ten tons of it as a present were made to each vessel.

On the 26th. Oct., several petty chiefs who had revolted from the King came to adjust matters with him, and with them brought all their property. This the good old King returned, only retaining some of the hogs for the Callow; and then pardoned them. They went home singing and dancing. There were still two chiefs who refused to make peace with the King; the chiefs of the districts of Tatelipo and Gorabato. The former was the place where Captain Camble had killed some of the natives on the 23rd., on being told that myself and the boats' crews had been massacred. For this injury they had declared they would take all the white men they could, which made it dangerous to go on shore. These people had formerly been in the practice of plundering the boats of the Port Jackson vessels which traded with them. At one time they plundered one of the ship Jenny's boats, stripped the crew naked, and would not allow them an oar to pull on board with. They were consequently old offenders, and before the affair with Captn. C- by no means friendly to Europeans.

The 28th. Oct., the ship Tonquin¹, Capt. Brumley of New York arrived in the bay. Our differences with the natives still existing it continued dangerous to venture on shore.

On the 29th. we manned and armed the boats and with the old King of Myemboo went to try to make friends between them and him, in order that we might engage them to cut wood for us. The King and myself only landed on the beach under cover of the guns in the boats; which were under the direction of Capt. Camble, who would have fired into them had they shewn they meant the least harm. We had a conference with the chief and some of his old men. They were willing to make peace with the King, provided he would permit them to retain all their property. To this

¹ The American ship "Tonquin," Captain Bromley, seems not to have called at Port Jackson on this occasion when she visited the Fiji Islands. Captain Bromley, however, had been at Port Jackson in 1807, when sent in the "Hope" to ascertain the fate of the "Union," Captain Pendleton. H.R., N.S.W. vi, 271-2. Fanning's *Voyages*, 327-9.

the King consented, and they gave him a spear in token of obedience. The white men were then mentioned; on which the chief whose name was Wallabatoo, (and blind of one eye), said that we had killed nine of his people and wounded a number of others, and that he would kill as many of us as soon as he should have it in his power¹. When the King of Myemboo found that the white men were not to be included in this treaty of peace, he returned them their spear. I told them I had been taken by the party they had joined, and that Captn. Camble had been informed I was killed, which induced him to fire upon them. This explanation was not sufficient. They would not make friends with us; so we left them.

As it was a great point for us to pacify them that we might procure our cargo of wood, and our going ashore while this difference existed was attended with considerable risk, I offered them presents, which however would not satisfy them. I therefore agreed with the King of Myemboo, the King of Myendam, and some other chiefs, to destroy or drive them from the island².

According to this agreement, on the 2nd. of November 1808, at 4 a.m., the King of Myemboo arrived abreast of Tatelepo with about 900 of his people; the King of Myendam brought 500 with several from other districts; in all amounting to about 1800 men. I had with me in the General Wellesley's launch 16 Europeans, each of them armed with a good musket and cutlass. Besides we had a twelve pound carronade and a four pounder. Mr. Brown, chief mate of the Tonquin, had also a launch provided with a twelve pound carronade and a swivel. He had 14 men with him, but having left America during the time of the embargo, their wages were small, and they did not engage heartily in the affairs of this day.

At daylight we hauled the launches close in with the land, and abreast of the enemy's fort. This was done at high

¹ A good example of the doctrine of retaliatory punishment—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—and perfectly justifiable from the native's point of view.

² Be my brother or be killed.

water; at low water the launches could not get within a mile of the shore. We then commenced a random fire into the fort through the wood, without doing them much damage. This was continued until it became necessary to haul the boats into deeper water.

At 9 a.m. we landed carrying with us the small guns from each boat. Our allies, the natives, landed at the same time. The King of Myemboo then summoned all the chiefs together, who came and squatted all down upon their hams around him. As he related to them his motives for going to war with the people of Tatelepo, he stood in the middle of their circle with a spear in his hand. Amongst the causes he enumerated was that they had revolted against him, and had joined his enemies; they had burned some of his houses, they had taken some of his canoes and women, while fishing; and they had threatened to take the white men, who were his friends. When he had finished his harangue, the different chiefs clapped their hands and repeated the words: “*Venaka*,” “*Venaka*”; which signify: very good, very good.

The fort we were about to attack was very strong and built on the same plan as the one I have already described at Myemboo. Behind it there was a very high hill on the side of which was the King of Gorabato with 300 men. These made several attempts to join and assist their friends in the fort, but were prevented from making the junction by the King of Myemboo, by the manner he had stationed his men. The people of Myendam were ordered to the east side of the fort, to attack it, and also to hinder the enemy posted on the hill from getting into it. The natives of Mynobreti¹ were sent to the west side. The King’s party and the Europeans were placed in the centre. Between us and the fort the wood was very thick, and the ground swampy. The King’s party began to cut down the wood to make a clear opening to the fort; but I finding this operation very slow, and that the

¹ *Mynobreti* is the most difficult of Lockerby’s place-names to identify. Judging by the form in which he renders other similar names, *Mynobreti* should be *Mai-na-Buretu*; and there is a district and town called Buretu, but it is in Viti Levu, and it seems unlikely that its people would at that time have been under the influence of Mbua.

day would be spent without doing the enemy any harm, (who kept blowing their conches and beating their wooden drums as signals of defiance,) I proposed to the King to carry the guns through the wood and attack the fort at once, but the King thought this impracticable, the wood being so swampy. He advised that we should go about three miles further down the Bay to another landing place, from whence, he said, we might walk along the foot of the hill to the fort. This plan I rejected, thinking that as 300 of the enemy were on the side of the hill above us, they would have a great advantage over us, and might cut off our retreat to the boats in case we should have occasion so to do. There was another objection; the guns we should have had to carry with us, and these the natives would by no means touch. While they were employed in making an opening through the wood to the fort, I with some of the Europeans penetrated so far into it, till we got sight of the fort. We found the enemy driving down stakes for barricades. They soon perceived us and about a hundred of them sallied out to attack us; but by keeping up a regular fire we prevented them coming too near. We retreated as they advanced without receiving any damage, although the stones from their slings passed, and the arrows stuck in the trees close to us. The report of the muskets brought the remainder of the Europeans with some of the natives to our assistance, when we forced the enemy into their fort. We then got the small guns conveyed through the wood, and placed them upon the bank of a ditch, about 150 yards from the fort. At this distance we fired about a hundred canister and grape shot into it, while the rest of our party kept up a regular fire with their muskets, which no doubt went through and through it. However we could not make any large breach or damage it visibly, which made the natives, our friends, believe that the balls could not penetrate the bamboos.

At noon the enemy made a desperate sally from the fort. Those on the hill did the same. For ten minutes 200 men were closely engaged with spears and clubs. Fifty of each side, at least, were killed in this skirmish: among whom was

the King of Myendam¹. His body was carried to a canoe. His friends felt his loss very much. We again drove the enemy into their fort. Their courage was furious. When either spears or arrows penetrated their bodies, they would tear them out and throw them back at their enemies. One fell by a musket ball, and as he lay on the ground, he wounded several of his adversaries by the arrows from his body, before he was dispatched with a club.

At one p.m. a boat was sent from each ship with ammunition, which came very opportunely, as we had almost expended all our stock.

About two p.m. the Enemy made another sally. The natives of Myendam retreated to their canoes. Several of them were killed. A party of the enemy in again retreating to the fort passed within two hundred yards of the Europeans, who kept together in a body. Thirty shot were fired at them, but only three fell. This made the natives on our side think our muskets were of little use. On this point I thought it right to undeceive them, and at the same time to give them a proof of our valour. Six of my companions volunteered to go with me to set fire to the fort. We got behind the barricade in the middle of the ditch, and with a lighted bamboo we fired the fort several times, but the fires were as often extinguished. At last we got inside of the barricade. The entrance into it was so narrow that only one could pass at once. The arrows were then flying from the fort like a shower of hail. To dislodge us from our position the enemy rushed out, on which we fired into the inner door and galled them severely. We now reached this door, and placed ourselves on each side of it, secure from the arrows of the besieged. As the natives ventured out we dispatched them. Not liking this kind of work, they tore down the gate, and made the opening so large as to admit a number at a time to sally out upon us. Our situation now became untenable; and we were obliged to make the best retreat we could, which

¹ The King of Myendam (*i.e.* the Chief of Ndama) whose death is here recorded was probably the father of another noted Chief whose bravery is recorded in a native tradition which will be found at p. 214 *post*.

was no easy matter. The outer gate was so small that only one person could pass at once; our muskets were discharged, and we had not time to load them again. Berry¹ and I remained to keep the enemy at bay while the others escaped; we fired our pistols, and as we could not charge them, the enemy being within five yards of us we threw the pistols at them, and attempted to get out of the fort. It was unfortunately too late. Berry received a spear in the back part of his neck, and fell into the ditch, where his body was afterwards found. My breast and left leg were pierced by arrows. I was also wounded in the left foot by a spear. With these wounds I thought myself fortunate to get outside the barricade. I was there joined by the King's party. Soon after the enemy determined to abandon the fort, and join their allies on the hill. They sallied out in a body and fought desperately. About fifty of them were killed before the junction was effected².

We then took possession of the fort, where the natives were convinced of the use of our fire arms, when they saw upwards of two hundred corpses of men, women and children, whom the grape shot had dreadfully mangled. Amongst them the body of the chief Wallabatoo was found; it was known by his being blind of one eye.

So very anxious were the conquerors to feast upon the bodies of their slain Enemies, that as soon as the fort was taken, they began to take them away to their canoes. Owing to this, all but the King's party left us; and it was with difficulty we got the body of Thomas Berry, and the guns down to the boats, being attacked several times by the enemy—from the hill.

When I agreed with the King to attack the natives of Tatelepo, I got him to promise me that none of the women and children who might be taken prisoners during the war should be killed. Although the King in conformity with his promise might have been inclined to save them, yet it was

¹ Thomas Berry had been Lockerby's fellow-prisoner on the native canoes during the assault on Tavea (see p. 50 *ante*).

² The news of the assault on "Tatelepo" was published in the *Sydney Gazette*, No. 268 of 19th Feb. 1809—see p. 199 *post*.

not in his power. The savages shewed no mercy either to young or old who came in their way. One woman only escaped; she had received a wound on her head from a club, and ran from the canoe into which she had been thrown. She was chased by one of her enemies, when I stopped him by threatening to blow out his brains. She was afterwards caught by some of the Europeans, and delivered to the old King, who took her home with him, where her wound got well. I saw her often after this, and she was thankful to me for preserving her life.

At 5 p.m. all the natives dispersed each canoe carrying with it some of the dead bodies.

The next day by permission from the King a grave was (made) for the corps of Thomas Berry, and it was taken ashore attended by all the boats and men that could be spared from each ship. The boats had their several officers and colours. After reading prayers and committing the body to the grave, we fired two volleys of musketry over it. Several hundreds of the natives were present, who during the ceremony kept themselves quite silent, by command of the King. When it was ended he stuck into the grave a piece of iron, repeating the words: "Taboo; Taboo"; which signify that the place must not be disturbed; or that it was sacred to their Callow. At the head of the grave we placed a piece of oak wood, on which was cut the year of our Lord &c. This the natives thought was the white mens' Taboo.

We went into the King of Myemboo's fort, where we found both men and women employed in cutting up the bodies of their prisoners. Some were cooked whole, and laid upon platforms round the house of the Callow; upon others children and men were feasting. I asked Captain Camble what the people in Europe would think, if we reported to them the spectacle we were then witnessing; he said they would not believe us. He told me that when I mentioned what I had seen while I was a prisoner with the natives, a Mr. William Scot, then on board the General Wellesley, could not be made to believe they eat those that were taken in battle. We were then passing a hut where an old woman was eating the

foot of a child. I requested her to give it to me; which she did, decently folded up in a plantain leaf, I carried it on board and presented it to Mr. Scot, who was then satisfied the natives of the Feegee Islands were cannibals. This gentleman was the son of a Mr. Scot, one of the principal settlers in Prince of Wales' Island in the Straits of Malacca¹.

A few days afterwards I went on shore. In going up the river I found the intestines of the dead bodies had been thrown into it; they had been thrown in at high water, and floated down at ebb tide. They had caught the mangrove roots, and on the water leaving them, they were exposed to a burning sun, which caused such a horrid stench to rise from them that almost suffocated me. A number of dead bodies was also laid on the river side upon platforms that created a smell that was felt at a considerable distance.

On the 10th. of Nov. I sailed with the Wellesley's and Tonquin's armed crews and launches, accompanied by the old King, to discover a part of the island, where sandlewood might be more plentiful. In passing the island of Angona² on the 11th. we fell in with about twenty of the enemy's canoes, who seeing us made off as fast as possible. The 12th. we landed at the island of Taffier, where we remained three days. We then sailed to Lagota Bay³, and arrived there on the 16th. About 50 tons of Sandlewood we found already cut for us, by the King's order. We paid the natives well, and they agreed to cut us as much as we wanted. This agreement they performed. I made several trips with the Wellesley's launch thither, and soon got Captain Camble⁴ a cargo, on which he sailed to Port Jackson. He paid me handsomely for

¹ Prince of Wales Island, the native name of which was Pulo Penang, was first settled by Europeans on 11th August, 1786, as an outpost from which the trade of the East India Company might be extended to the Far East and to the South Seas. It now forms the principal part of the "Straits Settlement" of Penang.

² Angona is the Island of Yanganga, lying across, but at some distance out from, the opening of Wailea Bay.

³ Lagota Bay is Ngaloa Bay, into which the River Lekutu flows; Lockerby evidently took the name of the river for the bay.

⁴ Captain Campbell on the "Favorite" reached Port Jackson on the 14th Feb. 1809, with a cargo of upwards of 100 tons of sandalwood. *S. G. No. 268 of 19th Feb. 1809 see p. 199 post.*

my services. I then engaged with Mr. Scot, who had taken upon himself the command of the General Wellesley; Captain Dalrymple, and his first officer having died. He stipulated to give me three tons of Sandlewood as a privilege, 120 rupees a month, and a passage with him to China.

The 1st. of Jan. 1809, Mr. Brown took possession of a small island in Lagota Bay¹, where the wood was deposited as it was procured from the natives.

Having previously examined and sounded the channel between the island of Angona and Highparker², on the 28th. February, the Wellesley and Tonquin were got round to Lagota Bay, and anchored in four fathoms water abreast of the chief's town of Boboo³.

March 5th. The Tonquin having got her cargo, sailed for China.

On the 6th. I sailed to the westward⁴ with a determination to sail round the island to see whether sandlewood was to be found on any of the adjacent islands, &c. I had with me 14 Europeans and two Lascars. We were provided with two four pounders, muskets, &c. and ammunition. We had besides one month's supply of provisions.

On the 8th. I arrived at the Bay of Nandorey⁵, about 60 miles from the ship. For the last two days the weather had considerably changed, and we had some heavy squalls of wind and rain from the westward accompanied with a good deal of thunder and lightning. The natives told me the N.W. monsoon was setting in; which determined me to go no further that season. I remained at Nandorey Bay three days, until the natives cut me a load of sandlewood. In this part of the island it is very abundant. Having got about ten tons of wood into the launch on the 11th., and everything ready, I set out on my return to the ship. In the evening it

¹ This island was perhaps Ngaloa, but more probably one of the smaller islets thereabout; it was certainly not the Brown's Island in Mathuata Bay—see pp. 137 and 207 *post*.

² "Highparker" is evidently the great headland of Nai Vaka.

³ Boboo is Na Vovo, the Chief's town in Lagota (Ngaloa) Bay.

⁴ This should be 'eastward.'

⁵ Nandorey Bay is that on which the native town of Nanduri now stands. It was the farthest point reached by Lockerby in that direction.

blew a very strong gale from the westward with very heavy rain. Fearing I should run foul of some of the coral reefs, I brought up under the island of Mattawata¹, a mile from the shore. Throughout the night it rained so hard, that although we had a tarpaulin to cover the launch, the men were obliged to continue throwing out the water by buckets to prevent it from sinking. At midnight the thunder and lightning were more dreadful than anything of the kind I ever before witnessed in any part of the globe. At one a.m. the launch was struck by lightning, but happily it did no other damage than that of splintering the mast. The shock however was very great: the boat appeared for some time to be covered with a blue flame, and smelt so strong of sulphur that I imagined our powder under the platform in the stern of the launch was blown up. One of the Lascar's knives had been hanging to the mast, where it was found with the blade melted to the thickness of a straw; the horn handle was so scorched that it seemed as if it had been in the fire. At 4 a.m. it was blowing a perfect hurricane. Knowing our anchor would not hold out long we set up a jury mast, and with a part of our fore sail got under weigh, and ran before the wind and sea for the ship. A whale boat I had with me, ran ahead, under little sail, to discover the reefs. I had at times to heave some of the wood overboard, on account of the sea rolling over the launch. At 8 a.m. the whale boat made signal of a reef right ahead. We set some after-sail to try to weather it; but it blew too hard to keep my way to the wind, and the sea was breaking over us, so that the men were employed with their hats and buckets to keep her from filling. As I found I could not weather the reef, I kept away thinking to go to leeward of it; but this I found likewise impossible, for I was now to windward of part of the reef. Finding I could not by any means clear it, I let go my anchor. This unfortunately did not hold: in a few minutes afterwards the launch struck upon the reef, struck very

¹ "Mattawata" is Lockerby's name for *Mathuata*. The islet so-called was the central stronghold to the large district (Lockerby would call it a Kingdom) of the same name on the adjoining mainland. The same area still forms the Province of *Mathuata*.

heavy, and soon after bilged, with the stern upon it, and bow under water. There were about three feet of water on the reef; and we were two miles from shore, where we saw some hundreds of natives, with whom we were unacquainted. The whale boat came to our assistance, but it was too small to carry us all to the ship: some must be left to the mercy of the waves and the natives. I therefore concluded to leave the two Lascars. I sent them into the launch to pass out provisions, &c. When this was done, I with a hatchet cut the boat's painter, and left them on the wreck. All the men except four at the oars lay flat in the bottom of the whale boat to prevent it being upset by the heavy sea. We pulled up to windward of the reef, and then made sail before the wind. We passed over a number of reefs, but it being high water we only struck once, when we were in the trough of a very heavy sea. This strained the boat so much that we with great difficulty kept it afloat till we got alongside the ship; which we did about 4 p.m. having run in the whale boat a distance of 50 miles in six hours. This gale lasted fourteen days.

2nd. April. I went in the Wellesley's cutter up Embagaba river¹, where I found the two Lascars who were left upon the wreck of the launch; the natives had taken them off. When they were told they belonged to Massa Lombe, the name the Islanders gave me, (those of this part had no doubt heard of the affair of Tatelepo and the share I had in it,) they did not offer the two men any harm, but conducted them across the land to the place I found them.

A few days afterwards I went to the reef where the launch was lost. I took with me some of the natives, who are very expert divers. They slung and recovered the guns which had sunk in 4½ fathoms of water. I got some of the Sandlewood,

¹ The name "Embagaba"—which Lockerby elsewhere spells *Embagada* and *Embagato*—is certainly the same as Peter Dillon's "Nanpacab" ("an island," he wrote, "situated about six miles up the river of the same name." *Voyage in the South Seas*, Vol. i, p. 5). The name still survives as Mbekavu, or, as the latest Census Report has it, Bagatu. It is now the name of a native town which formerly stood on an island just within the mouth of the Dreketi River. That Lockerby's Embagaba River (Dillon's Nanpacab River) is the Dreketi River is confirmed by the accuracy of his description of the river up which Lockerby went.

which from its weight had also sunk; but there was no remnant of the launch to be seen.

On account of the abundance of Sandlewood in Nandorey Bay, I examined the passage through the reef &c., in order that the General Wellesley might safely get round; which she did, and got here the principal part of her cargo.

As I was on shore on the 6th. of May with a boat's crew trading with the natives of Nandorey Bay, I was told by some of them, that at about two miles distant along the shore they were that day going to strangle a woman¹. Not having yet seen the whole of this spectacle, I went to the place, where I saw her sitting upon the ground. She was about fifty years of age, painted all over with turmeric root and cocoa-nut oil. Round her were sitting about a hundred women, who took it by turns to bewail her unhappy fate. Although at times they made a great noise and appeared to be much afflicted, yet at other times they would laugh and seem totally indifferent. There were only about twenty men present, amongst whom was the chief of the district. The men were employed in digging a grave or rather a round pit, about three feet deep. In a house close by was the body of a dead man, the poor woman's husband, which was painted entirely black except the head, and it was red. Wishing to save the woman's life I offered the King a number of whale's teeth, beads, &c. At first he did not seem to have much objection; but he at last told me, she was an old woman, and would be of no use to me. I made him understand that my motives were quite different from those he entertained. The white man's Callow, I said, would punish them for killing her, by burning their houses, destroying their fruit trees &c.; this however did not produce the result I had expected. The old chief told me if she was not put to death her husband's relations, joined by all the different chiefs in the neighbourhood, would attack and destroy him, with everything he was possessed of. He said likewise that his own Callow would

¹ The following account of the customary strangling of a Chief's widow, especially if it is read in conjunction with Captain Siddons' account of a similar ceremony (which will be found at p. 166 *post*), is valuable as being more detailed than any which can be found elsewhere.

be angry with him. The man's dead body was soon after brought out, and bundled into the grave (as it was too short to lay it at full length), at the bottom of which a mat was spread. A mat was then laid at the edge of the grave, on which the woman was placed, with her feet upon the dead body. In this posture she remained half an hour without speaking a word to anyone. The other women now brought some calabashes of oil, and other things as presents to her, when she rubbed some of the oil on her body. She did not appear the least uneasy about her approaching fate. I gave her a few beads, of which she took little notice, and handed them to the old chief, who was afraid to receive them. He returned them to me, saying he would give me cocoa-nuts or anything he had, but the woman's life he could not save. A piece of their cloth twisted like the strand of a rope was then put round her neck with a round turn. One man at each end of this rope pulled it tight, while another kept her eyes closed, and a woman held her feet together. Her hands were loose. She did not make the least resistance. Her body soon became amazingly swollen, and very much convulsed. As soon as she was thought to be dead, the rope was taken from her neck. She afterwards however showed signs of life, when the rope was again applied. One man held her head down, and four others drew the cord so very tight that they almost separated the head from her body. The corpse was then put into the grave, and covered with mats, over which they placed earth and stones. Having witnessed the horrid deed, I was about to return to the boat, when I found the old King appeared to be much alarmed. He said he was afraid of the white man's Calow, and would make him a present of cocoa-nuts, some of which he begged me to accept of for him; but I refused. I then left the place, and immediately went on board ship: she was laying within half a mile of the shore. The same night we fired several guns from the ship loaded with shot. Before daylight we landed and burned some of their houses, cut down several trees, &c. The natives had all of them deserted the village, and taken shelter in the wood. A few days afterwards they returned,

and brought with them a large quantity of bread-fruit, cocoanuts, &c. as a present to the white man's Callow, being convinced they had been punished by him for strangling the woman. Whether this had the effect of deterring them from committing similar acts in future, I cannot say; but while I continued with them I did not see another put to death in the same manner¹.

On the 16th. of May I went about ten miles² up the river Embagaba to a village where I was told there was a large lot of Sandlewood; but the owners wanted a large whale's tooth for it, and I had not one to give. As the ship had almost completed her cargo, I wished very much to get this parcel. To accomplish my end I made use of a stratagem that answered the purpose. I told the native that the ship's Callow, making him understand this to be the figure of General Wellesley at the ship's head (in full uniform), had sent me for the wood and ordered me to pay for it in iron-work. The man on this was a little alarmed, but still he did not seem inclined to part with his wood. I then took some long grass and bound it round several of his bread fruit trees; this done, I made a pile of stones before a pond of fresh water which was before his door; and then told him whoever should eat of the bread fruit would die, and that the same fate would meet the person who should wash himself in the pond. I finished my anathema by telling him that he and all his family would be sick before the day following at noon. All this I assured him was by the ship's Callow's order, because he would not let me have the wood. I then left him to go farther up the river; however he soon followed and called after me, but I pretended not to hear him. That afternoon I was passing his habitation, and found a number of natives assembled at the landing place, who told me the man and his family were all dying. I went with part of the boat's crew armed to the house, where I indeed saw him, and twenty women and children lying flat on the floor of their

¹ Lockerby's drastic punishment of these people for doing that which they thought was right and necessary was as ill-advised as it was futile.

² "Ten" is possibly a slip of the pen for "two" miles.

house, in seeming great agony; the perspiration running from every pore of their skin. Near was placed the old chief of the district mourning over them. When I entered they all rose and made a most lamentable cry, promising the Callow of the ship all their wood and everything they had. I was now sorry I had worked so much on the minds of these simple creatures¹. I told them I would go on board to intercede with the Callow in their behalf; but before I returned, they said, every one would be dead. After a good deal of persuasion I was prevailed upon to take off the taboo, and receive a lot of wood as a present to the ship's Callow. It was soon carried down to the boat with more yams, plantains, &c., than it could contain. I then drew my hand over the faces of those who had been sick, on which they stood on their feet; but having perspired so much it was with difficulty they did so. Afterwards I made them a present of a quantity of iron and beads of far more value to them than a whale's tooth, if they could have understood their own interests. I left them dancing and singing, apparently well pleased on having freed themselves from the displeasure of the figure head of General Wellesley so easy. When I was about seven miles down the river I heard a noise in the wood, and saw the natives running after me. I had forgotten when I took off the taboo to push down the pile of stones that had been put before the pond of water; and they were following me to desire I would go back and remove it. Although the night was coming on, I was partly obliged to return to the place, and remove this alarming spell.

May 18th. A canoe came alongside of the ship, belonging to Highley Bay. It brought a present for Captain Scot, which it may be supposed could not be accepted. It was the entire body of a man who had been cooked upon hot stones in the ground. The bearers of it said it was one of their enemies, and added they thought they could not have brought us a more acceptable present; particularly as it was cooked in the manner they are always done when they make presents to

¹ A remarkable instance of the possible effect of that which is now called "suggestion."

their principal chiefs. We told them to throw it overboard; this they would not do; and left us saying we were afraid to eat our enemies.

While the ship lay at Nandorey bay we took possession of a small island in Lagota Bay¹, on which we left twenty men to procure wood. On the 20th. this party was attacked by ten canoes full of men, from one of the adjacent islands. They landed several times; but our men being well provided with muskets as well as two twelve pounders, they always met a warm reception; and at length were forced to retreat, numbers of them being either killed or wounded.

About this time a schooner arrived from Port Jackson². She had touched at one of the Hapei Islands, where she took off one of the four men that were left of the crew of the ship Port au Prince of London. This vessel was formerly a Liverpool Guineaman, commanded by Captain Corron. From the man brought by the schooner I received an account of the loss of that ship, and the shocking massacre of her Captain and crew. I assisted him on his return to England; and have since been happy to learn, he was the means of recovering some of the property that had been insured for the widow of the unfortunate Captain. The master of the schooner had a quantity of gold bars, which he had purchased from the natives for pieces of iron. They had belonged to the Port au Prince³. She had been on the N.W. coast of America as a privateer.

After I had lost the Wellesley's launch the cutter was fitted out to pull twelve oars, with a ridge pole fore and aft in which six musketoons were placed; each man was armed with a

¹ This was probably not "Brown's Island" (i.e. Ngaloa) but one of the adjacent small sand-cays.

² This was the "Mercury," Cptn. Siddons, which left Port Jackson on the 15th Oct. 1808 for Fiji. The Hapei Islands (the name is usually spelt Hapaaiai) form the central group of the Friendly Islands. It was at Lefuka, the chief of these islands, that the "Port au Prince" was seized by natives in 1806. The survivor from that tragedy who was brought away by the "Mercury" on this occasion, was William Towel (Mariner's Tonga, II, p. 77).

³ This seems to be the only notice of gold bars as included in the cargo of the "Port au Prince"—probably plunder from Spanish ships off the coast of Peru.

musket, cutlass and pistol. On the 22nd. of May, I went to a village called Sawasa¹, having been told a meeting of the greatest part of the principal chiefs of the island would be held there. When I landed I found there about four hundred of the natives assembled. Near them was a large collection of yams: perhaps two tons: some of which were given to me, and sent down to the boat. The chiefs then told me they were met to consult upon attacking a small island about twelve leagues to the westward; and they promised me, if I would assist them, to load the ship with Sandlewood. This offer I rejected as our ship had already nearly completed her cargo; I had besides no desire to be the cause of destroying more of these unfortunate beings. However before I left them an accident happened which had nearly cost some of us our lives. One of the boat's crew who was on shore with me was chewing tobacco; an old chief near him seeing this begged a little from the sailor. Although I told him how it would make him sick if he ate any of it, yet he would not be dissuaded; the natural consequence was that it made him vomit excessively, and his countrymen thought he had been poisoned. Under this impression they began to threaten revenge: a number of them seized hold of their clubs. These menaces alarmed some of the sailors, who betook themselves to the boat. The natives now all crowded round me. I stood with my back against one of the huts, and said, the men had run to the boat to bring something which would soon cure the old chief. This story pacified some, but others increased their threats. The women, fearing some disturbance, ran from the village, and on their way alarmed more of the men, who joined the rest of their friends. The seamen got the boat nearer the shore with its broadside opposite to the place where I and the natives were stationed: the distance might be 150 yards. According to my orders, the men fired the musketoons over our heads, which so terrified the natives

¹ Sawasa is Sawasau, a village on the seashore of the Nai vaka headland. The meeting of the Chiefs at Sawasau was in accordance with the custom, still prevailing, when the Chiefs have some subject of common interest to discuss; it is called *mbose vaka turanga*, an assembly after the fashion of Chiefs.

that some ran off, while the rest fell down, thinking to escape the shot. Taking advantage of their alarm, I moved, with my face turned towards them, towards the boat, with a pistol pointed at them. By this means I got safe on board, and left them without receiving any damage.

The next day I was told the old man who eat the tobacco was dead. This is another proof of the fatal effects of fear on the natives of the South Pacific Ocean¹. This man imagined he had been poisoned, and I have no doubt but his idea was the cause of his death. I have been informed by gentlemen residing at Port Jackson that should one of the natives of New Holland dream that another had struck him with a spear, it has so great an effect upon him that he dies. According to their laws the man of whom he dreamed is put to death.

May 26th. I received information of a large quantity of Sandlewood being up a small creek at the head of Embagaba river. This part of the island the natives of Tatelepo had fled to, during the time I was engaged in destroying their fort. It required me therefore to be upon my guard. I had the cutter well manned and armed before I proceeded up the creek; which was so narrow in many places that there was not room to turn the boat. The land on each side was about fifty feet high. The natives had consequently great advantages over us. When I arrived at the head of the creek I found about three hundred of them, but none of them were armed. At first they appeared very friendly. Still I could not help entertaining some suspicions of distrust, which made me only bring one man with me ashore, and leave the remainder in the boat. I bought the wood and they agreed to carry it to the boat. Afterwards they wanted as much for carrying it there as I had paid for the wood itself. Soon after they began to pass their clubs and lances to each other, and made other manoeuvres that boded no peaceable termination to our business. I whispered to the chief, if he would go with me to the boat, and make his men carry down the wood, I would give him a whale's tooth. Accordingly he

¹ A medical friend of great experience in the Fiji Islands suggests that it was simply an ordinary case of nicotine poisoning.

went towards the boat, the natives following us. But when we got within a few yards of it, the chief would go no further. I then got into the boat to make preparations to defend ourselves. The natives seeing what we were doing retired to a little distance, and saluted us with a volley of stones. The creek was so narrow we could only use the oars as poles. We fired a musketoon among them, which checked their progress a little, and then worked down the creek as fast as we could. Our situation was now becoming perilous in the extreme. The natives were following us and increasing in numbers, and the tide falling, there was hardly enough water for the boat. Under these circumstances I and eight men landed, and succeeded in keeping the natives at a respectable distance, until the boat got out of the creek into the river. We then went on board and soon were out of the reach of the natives. On our return we met with a small fishing canoe by which I sent our enemies word that I would pay them a visit in a few days. This message no doubt alarmed them; for two or three days afterwards a number of canoes came alongside the ship with the wood I had bought, besides a quantity of yams and plantains as a present. In one of the canoes was the chief who had gone down with me to the boat, before we were attacked by his men with stones; he said he was the white man's friend, and as a proof of this, he shewed me a human skull and some bones, which appeared to have been taken out of the ground. They belonged, he told me, to one of the white men, whose body had been sent to him nine moons ago by the natives of the island of Taffier, and that he would not eat them, but had buried them in the ground. I had no doubt but that those bones belonged to the unfortunate men who were taken by the people of that island on their passage to Highley Bay on the 17th. of July last; as the two men I afterwards recovered, reported that the bodies of two of them had been sent as a present to different islands. I gave this man a whale's tooth and some other trifles, and we were again friends. He afterwards cut us more wood. When the ship sailed a boat which was not wanted was given to him by Captain Scott.

We now got the ship transported back to Lagota Bay. A young native, son to the chief of Nandory, whom I had learned to speak a few words of English, and who had been very useful to me, was determined to go with me, as he said, to the white man's country¹. But a few days previous to the sailing of the ship, his friends came on board, and were very uneasy about him. They at first consented to let him go, which induced me to allow him to go on shore with them much against his will; however, there he remained.

Before I sailed I went to the Bay of Myemboo to see my good old friend Beumbawallow, & I carried him some presents. He was greatly disappointed when I told him that in a short time I was going to leave him. On leaving the village the last time, a number of old men and women followed me down to the boat, bringing some yams, cocoa nuts and plantains, indeed more than the boa's I had with me could carry. When I left them they could not have shewn greater signs of regret at parting with one of their own people. The old woman whose life I had saved at Tatelepo followed me with tears running down her aged cheeks. She gave me a calabash of oil, and again returned me thanks for preserving her life.

The witnessing of this parting scene would have made anyone forget at the moment that these people were cannibals. For myself I do assure those who may read this, that notwithstanding the strong motives I had to make me wish to be away, I could not help feeling considerable pain on parting with them. From the good old King I had received kindnesses which I should remember while I live with gratitude. Left as I was on his island without the least means of subsistence, to the mercy of the lower class of natives, who might have plundered me of the few articles I had left, and even deprived me of life, he not only supplied me with food when there was a great scarcity all over the island, and granted me his protection from the insults of his people, but

¹ The readiness of the South Sea Islander, in those early days, to embark on a European ship for an adventure into the unknown is extraordinarily commonly recorded in the log-books of early voyagers (see p. 75 *post*).

he taught me by his advice how to acquire their goodwill. Of this I shall mention one instance. My razors had been stolen from me, and having discovered the thief, I gave chase to him with a pistol in my hand; not with intent of hurting him, but merely to frighten, and make him return them. The old King called me and asked me to let him look at the pistol, which I did. However he would not give it to me again until I promised not to injure the offender. He told me that if I should kill any of them, he himself would not be able to protect me from the fury of his people—at the same time he said that if any should offend me to let him know and he would punish them. But he never had occasion to chastise one on my account, for I was generally respected even by the lower class. I seldom passed the door of an old woman's hut without inviting me in to partake of what she had in her basket¹.

It is but a tribute of justice to the young women to declare that, during the time I was amongst them, I never heard in a single instance that any of my companions had connexion with any of them, although the men are not inclined to jealousy. A circumstance happened which shews how artful women are in love affairs. A gentleman belonging to the General Wellesley took a particular fancy to a young woman living in a village that belonged to the King of Myemboo. Application was made to the King for permission to take her on board; which he granted. The gentleman then applied to the girl who did not seem very unwilling; he then gave her some beads, a whale's tooth and other articles, and when he thought the business mutually concluded and nothing else to do, except to take her down to the boat, she pointed to a few logs of Sandlewood which belonged to her father, and asked her lover if he would not buy them before she went. This request he could not well refuse, though she asked a whale's tooth for it, which would have purchased ten times the quantity at any other time. She then conducted him to another house, and shewed him several logs belonging to her brother that she also demanded a whale's tooth for: this he

¹ See postscript XXI, p. 85.

first refused, but at last consented, thinking she would ask no more; however he was much mistaken, for she took him to her sister's, her uncle's and her aunt's houses; and when he objected to buy the wood they had, she reproached him, and if reproaches did not succeed in making him alter his mind, she pretended to be sick and cried; and told him if he would not, she would not that night accompany him. In this manner he was coaxed out of articles which would have bought fifty tons of wood, without getting five. When she had obtained everything from him that she could get, she went along with him, and when he thought she was going to step into the boat, the jilt ran from him with the swiftness of a hare, and disappeared in the woods. The astonished lover thus left, went on board to mourn over his loss and disappointment. I was witness to several other tricks like this; but this one is sufficient to show how much the women in these islands differ in their manners from those of other islands in the South Seas.

One more remark I will make respecting the young men. They are not allowed to marry until they are about twenty years of age; which perhaps may account for their being such a well-made people. At the age of sixteen the young men are circumcised. How, or for what, circumcision was first introduced into these islands I never could learn; but was told it had been practiced as long as the oldest of the natives could remember¹.

On leaving Myemboo the last time, the King loaded some canoes with breadfruit, yams, and plantains; a large hog he also presented to Captain Scott. He went in the boat with me to the ship, where he remained several days. We made him some presents, and the good old man parted from us with much seeming regret; although I told him I should return, and bring with me some of the fine things of Europe, the grandeur of which I had often explained to him; but an ass to ride upon seemed to please him most. For several days we were employed in wooding and watering the ship, and in procuring a quantity of bread-fruit and sandlewood plants,

¹ See postscript XXII, p. 85.

which we planted in boxes filled with earth, and placed in the after-cabin.

The 2nd. June 1809 we left the Feegee island, and sailed for China. On the evening of the 9th. we passed two of Queen Charlotte's Islands¹, on which were volcanoes. It was a fine clear night, and the volumes of fire and smoke emitting from the tops of the mountains made a grand and awful appearance. The next morning we were close in with Egmont island where I landed with a boat's crew. I was received by the natives in a very friendly manner, and got from them some fowls and cocoa-nuts, for which I gave them a few pieces of iron. It was at this island, and at the same landing place, the boat's crew of the "Swallow," Captain Cartwright went on shore; and I cannot help thinking from the behaviour of the islanders towards me, that the Europeans were the first aggressors, or they would not have been treated by the natives as they were. I went into some of their huts. They are much the same as those of the Feegee islanders. There is a little similitude between the two languages, but I understood not much of what they said. After spending an hour on shore I returned to the ship.

July 6th. We passed with a very light breeze through Cartwright's Channel, so called by him having first dis-

¹ "Queen Charlotte's Islands" are now known as the Santa Cruz group; and Egmont Island is *Ndeni* or Santa Cruz Island. These islands, discovered by Mendana in 1595, were visited by Captain Philip Carteret (Lockyer, writing from memory, calls him Cartwright), in H.M.S. "Swallow" in 1767. It was on Vanikoro, one of the islands of this group, that the ships of Laperouse were wrecked in 1788, though it was not known what had become of these ships till 1827, when Peter Dillon, who had been in Fiji at the same time and on the same errand as Lockyer, discovered and disclosed the mysterious fate of these long lost ships. Dillon was led to the discovery by a chain of circumstances which began at Wailea (Lockyer's "Highley Bay") in 1813, on the occasion when Charles Savage, who was perhaps a survivor from the wreck of the "Argo" on Mabukitataoa reef (Argo Reef) in 1800, and was certainly wrecked in the "Eliza" on Nairai Island in 1808, was killed by the exasperated Fijians. On that evening in 1809 when the "General Wellesley," with Lockyer on board, sailed by Vanikoro (otherwise called Manicolo) it is quite possible that a survivor or two of Laperouse's crews—some of whom are now known to have lived on the island for many years after the wreck—may have watched the ship go by. See also postscript XXIII, p. 85.

covered it, and gone through this narrow strait between New Britain and New Ireland. A number of natives came off to the ship with cocoa nuts and bread fruit. Their features were very like the New Hollanders, but neither so stout nor so handsome as the Friendly islanders. The canoe we saw was small but beautifully painted and ornamented with shells. It had outriggers like the canoes of the Feegee islands. The natives had pieces of iron in their noses, similar to what sailors call in New Holland the sprit-sail yard of the natives; like them they were a very dirty and diminutive race of men. We saw none of their women, but if a judgement may be formed from the men, they could not be handsome. On the 11th. of July we fell in with two small islands situate between New Guinea and the Pellew islands, and which I believe was discovered by Captain Cartwright, and by him named David Freewill's Islands¹, from the circumstance of one of the natives coming on board and going with him of his own free will. About 400 of the inhabitants came off to the ship: They were a stout well made people, equally as handsome as any of the natives in the Pacific Ocean that I had seen. They brought with them bread fruit, yams, plantains and cocoanuts, which they exchanged for pieces of iron. With the greatest confidence and familiarity they came on board the ship; went to the grindstone and ground their pieces of iron, and in short they did not seem surprised at anything they saw—even a looking-glass could not attract their attention, nor did a gun which was fired alarm them in the least. Several wished to go with us, and were only prevented by some others of their countrymen taking them out of the ship by force. One of them found his way into the cabin, and could not be persuaded to leave the vessel, so we took him with us and named him David Freewill as Captain Cartwright had done. We cut off his hair which was three feet long,

¹ "David Freewill's Islands" are those of the *Mapia* group, the largest of which, called by the natives *Pegan* (or *Pegun*), was named "Freewill Island" by Captain Carteret, after a native [to whom Carteret gave the name Joseph—not David—Freewill] who insisted on quitting his island on the "Swallow"—another instance of a South Sea Islander embarking on a voyage into the unknown (see note on p. 71 *ante*).

and hung over his shoulders before and behind, and dressed him in a jacket and trousers, which made him very proud. Nothing that I met with during this voyage surprised me more than to see so many people living on so small a piece of land in the middle of an immense ocean. If we suppose there were as many women as men, the number must be upwards of a thousand on these two small islands. The islands are joined by a reef. Both appeared to be of the same extent, which might be about three miles in length, and two in breadth. How they should produce sufficient food to support so many people is astonishing: and, as we have reason to think that our ship was only the third they had ever seen, and that they should by their familiarity differ so much from all other natives in the Eastern world on their first intercourse with Europeans¹, is certainly something not easily to be accounted for.

23rd. July we passed in sight of the Pellew islands to the eastward. 12th. August we passed between the coast of Laconia² and the island of Formosa. The N.E. monsoons at this time prevailed. but as we expected them to change soon, we bore away for Amoy, where we arrived on the 28th. of August. Here we found only one ship, which was Spanish and from Manilla. The Chinese having had no intercourse with the English for nine years, they would not allow us to come near the city with the ship. The governor sent one of his first-chop Mandarines off to demand where we were from, whither bound, and what we wanted: to which Captain Scott replied, that we were bound to Canton, but were in want of provisions, and having no money he would have to sell part of his cargo to purchase them. The following day the Governor sent some pork, rice, fruit and sweetmeats to the ship, which he would take no money for. Captain Scott went on shore to wait upon the governor, and made him a present of some Sandlewood, a musket, and several spears and clubs of the natives of the Feegee Islands, that pleased him much. Next day the governor and some of his mandarins came on board to dine with us. We had in the

¹ See postscript XXIV, p. 85.

² Laconia is Luzon.

ship an old Chinese man who stood interpreter, he having been on board the vessel ever since she left Botany Bay. The governor was well entertained and left us highly satisfied: he had drunk pretty plentifully of our wine. Permission was given us to go on shore whenever we pleased to buy the articles we were in want of; but they would not allow us to bring the ship near the city unless we unhung our rudder and send our guns on shore, which we were not at all inclined to do. The port of Amoy is about 400 miles to the eastward of Canton; and is full as large as that city. It stands upon an island and has a very fine harbour. Their junks go to Manilla, and along the coast of Japan. On account of their being much disturbed by the Ladrone¹s, there were in the harbour at that time about 200 war junks. They are not so suspicious of strangers here as they are at Canton, as they do not prevent them from entering their city. Accompanied by the Spanish supercargo I visited the principal parts of it; and was handsomely entertained by several of the lower class of the Mandarines. In going along the streets, which are very narrow, one of the lower class, whom they call Colleys², did not treat me quite so politely, being audacious enough to examine my pockets. This some of the Mandarines observed, and gave the rascal a sound bamboozing for his impudence. The ruins of the English factory are still to be seen about four miles from the city. The Spaniards have carried on for a number of years a very lucrative trade with this city and Manilla. We found nankeens, silks, teas and other articles much cheaper here than at Canton. Sept. 10th. We left Amoy, and on the 12th. arrived at Macao. On the 18th. we came to an anchor at Whampoo.

The 20th. I waited upon the American consul, Mr. Carrington, who informed me, that the ship Jenny, after leaving the Feegee Islands³ (from which she was driven by a

¹ "Ladrone," *i.e.* pirates.

² "Colleys," *i.e.* coolies, manual labourers or burden carriers.

³ The story of the "Jenny" after she left Fiji is dealt with in the Introduction, also in the *Sydney Gazette*, No. 295 of 27th Aug. 1809 (see p. 202 *post*), and in the *P. of Wales Island Gazette* (see p. 203 *post*), and the *Calcutta Gazette* of Oct. 26th and Nov. 2nd, 1809 (see pp. 204-5 *post*).

gale of wind; according to the Captn.'s account he was not able to beat up against the monsoon to the islands, as the vessel was under jury masts, so he bore away for China, intending to return the next season to recover his mate and men who had been left. The ship Jenny) on her passage to Canton, put into the island of Guam, for new masts, where her Captain carried on some illicit trade, for which the vessel was afterwards detained by the British frigate Dover, Capt. Tucker, and sent to Bengal, and there condemned¹.

The General Wellesley's cargo of Sandlewood was sold for 18 dollars per pickle of $133\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. Capt. Scott paid me 1100 dollars for my services on board the Wellesley, and treated me in every other respect with much kindness.

I then engaged as first Lieutenant on board the Chinese Government gun-brig Tigres, on a cruise against the Ladrones, who had threatened to destroy the city of Canton. This was the first vessel of European construction that the Chinese ever had². My pay was 200 dollars per month. I remained in this service two months; but the American ships being about to leave Canton, and I being in a bad state of health, took a passage on board the ship Hunter of Salem, for which I paid £60; and after a pleasant and an agreeable passage of 114 days we arrived at Boston.

In the first place I waited on Messrs. John Dorr & Co. The Captain and supercargo of the Jenny had arrived, and notwithstanding the loss of the ship, the owners Messrs. Jno. Dorr & Co. were so good as to pay me my wages until the time of my arrival in China. Capt. Dorr denied his having the least desire to leave me upon the Feegee islands, and declared he did his utmost to return, but found it impossible. He spoke of me in the highest terms to the owners; and by their mediation I settled the matter with the Captain by referees, who gave a considerable award in my favour³.

¹ The passage here bracketed occurs only in one copy of the Journal.

² The "Elizabeth," Captain Stewart, reappears, as the Chinese gun-boat "Tigres" and Lockerby serves on her. See postscript XXV, p. 86.

³ See postscript XXVI, p. 86. After an exhaustive search both here and in America, no trace has been found of Lockerby's chart—unless, as seems quite possible, it is represented by the plan of Mbua Bay which appears

Before I left the Feegee islands I had taken a draught survey of the one on which I was left; from this I produced a chart, and sold two (?) ten) copies of them in Boston for 100 dollars each. Two vessels afterwards were sent out to the islands¹, one of which was never more heard of; but the other made a very profitable voyage. (A ship was offered me to go to these islands again; but I could not think of returning there without first) visiting my family, from which I had been so long absent. Accordingly I took my passage on board the ship Jane, Captn. Thomas, and after a passage of 27 days arrived at Liverpool. Here, happily, I found my wife and child in good health. I had been absent from them three years and seven months; in which time I had suffered more in mind and body than it is possible for me to express. Eight months of which time I lived in common with the natives of the Feegee islands—exposed to the heat of a tropical sun by day and damp by night.

Such are the outlines of this long and untoward voyage: eight months whereof I lived quite naked in Lat. 16° S. & Long. 178° East of Greenwich.

WILLIAM LOCKERBY.

as an inset on Arrowsmith's chart of the Fiji Islands first published in 1814 (or 1811?). This purports to have been taken from a survey made on board of the "Elizabeth," between which vessel and the "Jenny" there was, as we know, some intercourse but much hostility.

¹ It is difficult to identify the two vessels (Lockerby probably means American vessels) which were "afterwards" sent to the Islands. The "Hope," Captain Bromley, was probably one—the one which, as is known, failed to get any sandalwood but may have made a very profitable voyage otherwise. The other, which was never heard of more, may have been the vessel, name undiscoverable, in which Captain William Dorr, formerly of the "Jenny," touched at Guam in 1812, after having paid a second visit to the Fijian Islands but, as he said, found the natives too hostile to white men to allow sandalwood to be got from there. (Kotzebue, *Voyage to Behring's Straits in 1815-18*, Vol. III, p. 257.)

POSTSCRIPTS¹

I. This Island, which is little better than a rock, together with Tristan de Cunha, was soon after taken possession of by Jonathan Lambart, a citizen of the U.S. of America, who settled upon the latter island, with his family and some dependants; their intentions were to supply the outward bound ships to India with fresh stock and vegetables, which from the situation of the islands they could conveniently have done, as they lay in the direct track of the ships bound to the Eastward of the C. of Good Hope. But brother Jonathan, in passing between the islands in his boat, was unfortunately drowned; and the settlement was abandoned by his dependents. The British Government however in the year 1820 during the confinement of Nap^{en} Bonaparte stationed a Sloop-of-War's crew upon Tristan De Cunha, as a precautionary measure against his escape from St. Helena, and the island has ever since been inhabited by British and other subjects—who supply ships that call with the produce of the Island, and assist them to replenish their water, which is good and can be conveniently obtained from a beautiful cascade near the only landing place; the Island still retains its original name, though Mr Lambart intended it to be called Refreshment Island.

II. Not however in the friendly way in which I expected; for believing the ship to be a British Man-of-War, and the American flag displayed only as a decoy, and that my visit on shore was to impress them, they had mustered all their sealing knives and clubs, determined to oppose my landing, and like true Americans defend their liberties—and in truth I had some difficulty to convince those Orang-Outang looking fellows, who were clothed from head to foot with sealskins, that I was not the master of a Press-gang.

III. Here I saw Sir Henry Brown Hays, an Irish gentleman who had been transported for running away with an Heiress—he had been the intimate friend and companion of George the fourth when Prince of Wales—he was nevertheless treated here as a common convict. He had incurred the Governor's displeasure, and was transported a second time to Coal Rivers; I saw him depart and supplied him with some stores for his voyage. He had not shaved his beard from the time he left England; it was said he was under a vow not to do so until he returned.

¹ By William Lockerby; but renumbered according to order of reference in the text.

IV. One observation I must still make here; if a person kill a bullock or a sheep while the hot (October) winds blow, the flesh will not keep more than an hour or it will be fly-blown, and this is the case if it be boiled or pickled or even salted.

V. The reason assigned for this step taken by the Lt. Governor and others, according to report, was that he, Governor Bligh, had appropriated to his own use some of the Government property, and also that he had committed several acts of oppression on the free settlers. When the soldiers went to arrest him he hid himself, and was found under a bed and was dragged from thence by one of the soldiers.

VI. Cap. Bligh returned to the Pacific Ocean in search of the Mutineers of the "Bounty," but not succeeding in finding them, he collected bread-fruit plants, and he had the honour of introducing that most valuable tree to the West Indies, and which has since become quite common throughout the Islands. The retreat of the Mutineers of the "Bounty" was some years ago discovered upon Pitcairn's Island. Only one of the principals (Adams) was alive, but the Island is peopled with their descendants, and it has become a very interesting little colony.

VII. And Beach la Mare, great quantities of this article are to be found among the coral reefs that surround the Islands. It is highly esteemed among the Chinese who make soup of it; and, being prepared in a peculiar way, is worth in the China Market about 75 dollars a piegle.

VIII. The ship "Port au Prince" formerly belonged to the Port of Liverpool was employed in the African trade as a slave ship and owned and commanded by Captain William (? Cowan).

IX. An incident occurred on one of these Islands that like to have proved fatal to myself and boat's crew. While the ship was standing off and on I pulled inshore to examine the soundings under the lee of coral reef over which the sea was breaking furiously. Before I was aware the natives, not less than a hundred, came spouting through the breakers like so many Porpoises, they laid hold of the boat, and with all their might commenced dragging the boat towards the shore, and their great weight was filling the boat with water. I did not think it prudent to use violence to drive them off because we were in a great measure in their power; but we threw overboard our caps and red baize shirts etc. The natives left the boat to seize the prize and by this strategem we got from among them, to their great disappointment.

a scene took place, which appeared to me well adapted to their present situation. The chief of every family in the place brought what little property he had, consisting of mats, cloths, baskets, &c., of which one general parcel was made and then equally divided among the whole. Some who before had more than others were now on the same footing as those that had less; yet every one seemed satisfied.

Everything being now ready for the reception of the enemy, the natives enjoyed themselves in their out-houses, in fishing &c., as they did not think the enemy, as the King told me, would make an attack upon them for some time.

By this time our boat was in great forwardness. The King asked me one day, what I intended to do with it, to which I answered, that if the enemy, meaning the several islanders, did not soon come to attack us, I would go, and attack them at their own islands. My stock of powder was about 20 lbs.¹ which I made into cartridges, and some balls from lead. The natives seeing these preparations expected to derive much advantage from my assistance.

On the 9th. of Sept., the King told me that the next day I must go with him to see the fort of Tattalepo². This was a district of a petty chief named Walabatoo³, who was subject to the King. We accordingly set out with twenty canoes, and with us we had a number of the King's principal men. Every one was armed, and that I might be like the others, my body was painted black; I had a musket on my back, and two pairs of pistols, all loaded. When we arrived, we were received by all the old men and the chief, with a great deal of ceremony and respect. The natives both men and women were employed in constructing their fort. The King had a long conference with the old men, who declared their willingness to assist him in the war, and to defend themselves to

¹ One version of the Journal makes the stock of gunpowder only two pounds.

² Tattalepo (elsewhere spelt Tatilipo) is Tathi-Levu, which was a town near the present town of Navunieu, a few miles westward from the town of Mbua. See postscript XVI, p. 84. It seems strange that the people of a town so near Mbua should have revolted from the Chief of that place.

³ Walabatoo's true name was obviously Vale-vatu, the Fijian equivalent for stone-house.

coining business, or at least until he might make one or two trips before his countrymen knew the secret.

I had ascertained the position of Sandalwood Island, with the bearings of the headlands, the soundings, with the time of high water at the full and change of the moon, with other necessary information to enable me to make a correct chart, and accompanied with directions for making the Islands. I had made no secret of its being my intention to publish the same on my return to America. To prevent my doing so was the real cause of the Captain having a wish to leave behind the man who had so efficiently served him in procuring his present cargo. This fact was fully proved before the Arbitrators and Owners of the ship. The latter, like men of honour, offered me a sum of money for the copyright of my chart, which I declined. But to return to the thread of this narrative, after consulting with Mr Franker, with whom I had been on the most friendly terms throughout the voyage, I determined not to return again to the ship, but to take my chance among the Islanders until some other ship might arrive. Capt. D. took care to keep himself snug on board during his stay there, nor did I see the craven coward again until I met him in the Counting House of the Owners, Messrs Dorr & Co. at Boston. The ship sailed on the 28th July; but previous to which, through the kindness of Mr Franker, I was supplied with some muskets, pistols, and ammunition with other necessary articles, including an old boat. Several of the crew had deserted, which was no inconvenience to the ship as their places were supplied by the men of the shipwrecked Eliza.

XI. Having their hair frizzed up not unlike the upper part of a Judge's or Alderman's wig, the natives of both sexes are guilty of a very disgusting practice, namely the cracking between their teeth the vermin which they take from each other's heads. It is a work of several days to friz and dye their hair, and to prevent its being disturbed, they sleep upon a wooden pillow, on which they lay their necks: and to relieve the unpleasant itchings, they use a pointed peg, which they wear when not in use stuck in the hair.

XII. And there is a delicacy of feeling and sense of superiority equally perceptible between the higher and lower class of females, as there is in civilised societies; and I can say most truly that among these females, I mean those of the higher class, I never observed anything either in word or action the least indelicate during the whole time I remained among them.

XIII. The women, besides attending to all the household affairs, such as cooking and preparing their sour paste for their stock in time of war, are the sole manufacturers of cloth, which they make from the bark of a tree, by beating it between two stones while in a wet and spongy state, and, by a kind of gum or paste, they join the pieces together, making a web of any length and breadth; they dye this cloth into stripes of different colours which gives it a very gaudy appearance. Of this cloth the mossys worn by men are made. Some of this cloth is made so thin and pure white that at a distance it has the appearance of the finest muslin; this they use to dress their heads, and in time of war to ornament their arms and to decorate their war canoes.

The earthen pots for cooking are made by the women and they also make the mats for covering the floors of their sleeping houses etc. The men are not idle while the women are thus employed, but are engaged in making and preparing their weapons of war, building canoes etc.

XIV. The children of the King, both male and female, are an exception, until they arrive at a certain age; they do not use the mossy or petticoat until they are 10 or 12 years of age but go quite naked, and this is considered as a distinguishing mark of their royalty.

XV. At one time this good Samaratan certainly saved my life. A house that adjoined the one in which I was fast asleep by accident had caught fire and was enveloped in flames. Had she not given me timely warning I must have been smothered.

XVI. These people of Tattalepo afterward revolted from the King of Myemboo, and joined the enemy; they were however severely punished by the king's party with the assistance of the Europeans.

XVII. Their other instruments of music are a Drum, being a hollow piece of hard wood, and a Conk-shell; the latter is only used in time of war, and is sounded as a defiance to the enemy.

XVIII. He supplied me with clothes etc.

XIX. Knowing that our fate depended upon what this Callow might decide, I made up to him and telling him that the people of Taffier were our enemies and that we would go with them to fight, and that he should have all the dead bodies of those I should kill, the old piece of deformity looked pleased and decided in our favour.

XX. They jumped out of the cabin windows and would not be taken, they dived under water even after they had several shots in different parts of their bodies—they was obliged to kill them, they could not be taken alive.

XXI. I question much whether the unfortunate stranger if thrown destitute among the peasantry of our own country would have been treated with equal kindness.

XXII. When this operation is to be performed the youth of the district of the proper age assemble together in a house, their hands are tied to a beam above their heads—their feet barely touching the ground: in this position the operation is performed with a piece of the Bamboo—which being broke in a particular way is as sharp as a knife. The young men remain together for several days, until the wounds get well, before they appear in public.

XXIII. On the evening of the 6th we were close in to the island of Manicolo but night coming on we had no intercourse with the inhabitants. It was on the Reefs off this island that the French Circumnavigator La Perouse with his companions were wrecked, and whose fate after the lapse of many years was discovered by Mr Peter, now the Chevalier, Dillon, who has written a very interesting account of this discovery.

XXIV. And it is no less wonderful how these islands, as well as thousands of others in the N. and S. Pacific Oceans, should have been originally peopled. The similitude of the language is hardly sufficient to identify them with the natives of the Indian Continent, and yet we cannot in any other way account for the human species being found upon small islands many hundreds and even thousands of miles from any mainland, but by supposing that during the shifting of and prevalence of the different monsoons they may have been blown to sea and driven before a trade-wind for weeks or months—they may have by chance landed upon those insulated islands—they might have subsisted upon the fish and seagulls which they would be able to catch and the rain which falls in torrents during the shifting of the monsoons—this will not appear so improbable to those who are acquainted with the habits and simple mode of living of the natives of the eastern hemisphere and how very little food they require from habit to support nature.

The difference of colour also of the inhabitants of the Pacific Ocean is hard to be accounted for, and certainly is not occasioned by a difference of the latitude in which they live, for you will find the natives who inhabit islands in the same latitude are several shades different in colour. The formation of their bodies however are similar with the exception of the natives of the Island of Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands; these resemble the Malays particularly in the formation of the head, they are evidently

as different a race of men from the other Islanders as the Malays of the island of Sumatra are to the natives of Hindostan.

XXV. She was formerly called the "Elizabeth" and was the Brig commanded by Capt. Stewart which we found at the Feejee Islands when we arrived there in the "Jenny." On discharging her cargo of Sandlewood she had been sold to the Portuguese at Macao from whom the Chinese had bought her. We cut her down and converted her into a formidable Brig of War, having on board long 32 pounders of Chinese manufacture taken from their arsenal. She was manned with 60 Chinamen and 40 American seamen: the latter were lent to the Government by the Commanders of the ships at Wampoo on the men being paid liberal wages of 30 to 40 dollars a month.

XXVI. I presented Messrs John Dorr and Co. with a chart of the Feejee Islands, from my own actual survey, and having advertised the same on sale to the Public several copies were sold; and ships were sent out in search of Sandlewood: some were successful and others were never more heard of.

SAMUEL PATTERSON'S NARRATIVE
OF THE WRECK OF THE "ELIZA"
IN THE FIJI ISLANDS IN 1808

SAMUEL PATTERSON'S NARRATIVE

[The following story of Samuel Patterson's experiences in the Fijis, at the time that William Lockerby was there, is extracted from a rare and almost forgotten little book, the first edition of which is entitled: "Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Samuel Patterson, experienced in the Pacific Ocean, and many other Parts of the World, with an Account of the Feegee, and Sandwich Islands." The imprint is "From the Press in Palmer. May 1, 1817." This seems not to be in the British Museum Library; but there is there a copy of a second edition with a fuller and more descriptive title page: "A Narrative of the Adventures, Sufferings and Privations of Samuel Patterson, A native of Rhode Island, experienced by him in several voyages to various parts of the world, embracing a short description of the numerous places visited by him in his eventful life, And a particular description of the Manners, Customs, &c. of the people of the Sandwich and Feejee Islands. Published with a design of enabling the subject of this Narrative to obtain some alleviation of his misfortunes from a generous publick. Second Edition, enlarged." The imprint in this case is "PROVIDENCE: Printed at the JOURNAL OFFICE. 1825."]

There is no material change in the second edition, except that it includes an "Appeal to the Public"; in which the author relates his misfortunes and sufferings after his return to America, and describes how he bought a wagon and a forty dollar horse with which to hawk his first edition, and other incidents of his life from 1816 to 1825. Losing his horse, and almost his life, by exposure in a snow drift in the Alleghanies, he bought another horse for twelve dollars. Subsequently he kept a book stall at Providence, Rhode Island, for some years; and then invited subscribers for his second edition, some five hundred of whom are enumerated at the end of the volume.

The extract here printed supplies the only known account by an eyewitness of the wreck of the "Eliza" at Nairai, which is almost the only incident in the sandalwood trade the tradition of which survives in Fiji.

Samuel Patterson was born at North Providence, Rhode Island, on the 16th of August, 1785, the son of Hezekiah Patterson, a sea-faring man in humble circumstances. While his father was absent on a voyage to the East Indies, young Samuel was apprenticed successively to more than one of the neighbouring farmers, but neither to his own satisfaction nor to that of any of his employers. In 1798 the thirteen year old boy attached himself to a sea captain, Jonathan Eborn of Pawtucket, under whose command he served, at the age of 13, for one voyage only, on a Providence vessel trading thence coastwise to New York and Savannah. On getting back to Providence he left the ship, on the ground that he did not wish to cross the Atlantic, which the ship was about to do. He was next apprenticed to a blacksmith, but after six weeks quarrelled with his master's wife, and was turned off.

The childish habit of discontent and insubordination seems to have lasted throughout his life, and certainly coloured his account of his subsequent treatment by the Fijians.

In 1780, when hardly fifteen years of age, he entered on board the United States' frigate, "George Washington," Captain Bambridge, and served during the notable cruise of that vessel to the Mediterranean, carrying American tribute to the Dey of Algiers, and then going, reluctantly enough, on a mission from the Dey to the Grand Seigneur at Constantinople. The "George Washington," Patterson still on board, got back to Philadelphia in April, 1801. "At this place," he wrote, "I was discharged with others from the ship; and being but a boy, with no one to control me, I roved about with the other sailor boys until my money was all gone."

He next engaged on board a brig bound for Jamaica; but, when three days out, the ship sprang a leak and put back to Philadelphia. Whereupon all the hands deserted; for which offence Patterson was arrested and locked up. He was released on the intervention of Lt. Gordon, his former officer on the frigate "George Washington," and again went on that ship to Algiers, with further tribute for the Dey.

While lying at this place, Patterson forfeited the good will of Lt. Gordon, by putting walnut shells on the paws of a favourite mess-room cat; for which offence he was thrashed, and, when the frigate got back to Philadelphia in May, 1802, was again discharged.

Samuel then returned to his home, where he was received much after the manner of the prodigal son. But after a

canes, and knock over one of the chief's fowls, and take it, and pull up a handful of herbs, and tell the chief he wanted to make me some tea, and so borrow a pot of him, and make him think we wanted it for that purpose, while we should be cooking the fowl with it. Thus we had our feast, and felt as well perhaps as many would on the best dainties in America.

At length my eyes were some better, and my strength in some small degree restored. And one day Steere, travelling along the beach, discovered a canoe handy to be launched, and he informed me of it: I told him that I had a mat that we could make a lug sail of, and on a favourable hour we would try to launch the canoe and be off. Being ready, one night Steere came to me and said "Sam, the savages are all asleep, and we will make an attempt to get away." He took me on his back and carried me down to the canoe; we took a calabash of water, some yams, breadfruit and potatoes. We attempted to launch the canoe, but it fell off a log and partly broke in two. We got it off to a reef, but it leaked so bad as to be partly filled with water, and we found we must return. We had got back near the beach just as the savages were turning out in the morning. They ran and informed the chief, and he came in a great rage with his war club to kill us. We fell down on our knees and pleaded his clemency, and the young chief, our friend, also begged that we might be spared, and finally we were forgiven, and I was returned to my hut.

In this situation I lay about three weeks longer, and during this time was awfully tempted with the devil; he told me that if I could die, it would be an end to all, and sometimes he made me believe it, but at other times I was of a different opinion, and attempted to pray as follows; O Lord, spare my unprofitable life and enable me to get off this savage island, and protect me once more over the boisterous ocean to my native country, and I will try by thy assistance to seek religion and become what thou wouldest have me to be.

After this I was moved with the insinuations of satan again, and made to believe that all could be well with me, if I should then be dispatched to the world of spirits, and I put a piece of bark about my neck, and made an effort to hang myself,

writes, "he had received a letter from John R. Jewitt, who then remained among the savages at Nootka, informing him that the ship Boston had been cut off by the natives, and all the hands massacred except himself and one Thompson," and that Captain Hill was determined to go and relieve them if possible. Patterson adds that Captain Hill succeeded in rescuing the two men, but "that Thompson is since dead"; he further adds that he himself "had since had the pleasure of seeing them both; and had also seen the place where the Boston was lost¹."

On the 10th of August the "Juno" ran aground; and, though she was got off on the 12th, she was known to be much damaged. The captain, being anxious to ascertain what damage the ship had received on the rocks, ran for New Archangel, a Russian settlement, at which place he anchored on the 18th. The "Juno" was now hauled on shore, found to be seriously damaged, repaired as well as circumstances allowed, and refloated. But, "our ship pleasing the Russians much, and the Captain being offered a great price for her, he sold her to them on the 4th of October, 1805." The price paid, Patterson says, was seventy-five thousand dollars and the sloop "Yarmouth," which vessel was taken for the purpose of taking the crew to Canton—Captain De Wolf himself proceeding to St Petersburg, and was to go across the continent of Asia with a Russian caravan².

Patterson and the rest of the crew sailed on the 28th of October, 1805; and the "Yarmouth," now under command of the former mate of the "Juno," being in a very bad state of repair, reached its destination, Owhyhee in the Sandwich Islands, only on the 5th of December. Here Patterson once more had a difference of opinion with his commanding officer, and, with five of his messmates, was discharged.

¹ See "Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt: only survivor of the sloop Boston, during a captivity of nearly three years among the Savages of Nootka Sound: with an account of the Manners, Mode of Living, and Religious Opinions of the Natives." (The edition I have was printed at Ithaca, New York, in 1849; but there were at least two earlier and many subsequent editions.)

² The so-called "Yarmouth" was really the "Yermerk," a Russian craft of 40 tons. The cash paid for the "Juno" was, according to De Wolf, 68,000 dollars (Munro, *l.c.* p. 122). The captain's homeward journey was not quite such a simple one as Patterson supposed. Having been obliged to break his journey and remain quiescent during the two winters of 1805 and 1806, he reached the gates of St Petersburg only on the 21st of October, 1807 (see Munro's *Tales of an Old Sea Port*, p. 195).

The stranded men, after living among the natives for about six weeks (thus giving Patterson opportunity of gathering material for his "particular description of the manners, customs, &c. of the people of the Sandwich Islands"), took passage in a native armed vessel which had come to Owhyhee to fetch tribute from the Owhyheans for "the Emperor," who lived at the adjacent island of Waahoo.

At this island they were found by the Boston ship "Hamilton," Captain Porter, and they signed on for another voyage to the North West Coast for furs.

As usual there was trouble with the natives while the "Hamilton" was trading for several weeks up and down the coast. Afterwards the ship, running in to Tadisco, there met the Boston ships "Vancouver" and "Pearl." Patterson says he now asked his captain to raise his wages, but that this was refused; he then asked to be discharged, and this was granted. "I then went on board of the Pearl as a passenger, and embarked for the Sandwich Islands, and after a favourable passage arrived there."

"But," Patterson continues, "after a few weeks the ship Ocain arrived, and I shipped on board of her for a third voyage to the North West Coast, and after a very rough passage we arrived safe at New Archangel." The so-called "Ocain" was the Boston fur-trading ship "O'Cain," commanded by Captain O'Cain, who a year or two earlier had devised a new scheme by which the profits of the fur trade might be increased. His idea was to take native otter-hunters, with their canoes, down to the Californian coast; and his first experiment in this way had been so successful that the ship "O'Cain," under Captain Jonathan Winship, when she carried Patterson back to New Archangel in 1806, was bound on another expedition of the same sort.

"In the spring," Patterson says, "we took 120 Indians and 75 canoes on board, and being ready for sea, sailed for the coast of California..." But he adds that "after a time being sick," he "took passage on a ship which was built on one of the Sandwich Islands, and after a long passage arrived back at Waahoo." He went on shore, and after a few weeks recovered his health. E. IM T.]

[*A trip to Canton, and Port Jackson.*] Capt. Perry arriving at Waahoo, in the Sandwich Islands, in the ship Maryland, (which was formerly a sloop of war) from the coast of Peru,

and being bound to Canton, I entered on board as a passenger, and embarked. We arrived at one of the Bashee islands¹, inhabited by Spaniards, where we stayed a few weeks. After obtaining supplies, we sailed, and touched at another island in the Chinese sea. Here we procured buffaloe and other refreshments. We sailed again, and after a favourable passage arrived at Macao, a Portuguese settlement. Here we took a pilot and proceeded on; but, I left the Maryland and went to work on board of the Dorothea; but at length fell in with an English Letter of Marque, belonging to Port Jackson, Captain Camel, and entered on board of her. We sailed and passed through a strait, where we stopped for refreshment; and after a long passage we arrived at New Holland and came to anchor in Port Jackson².

While at this place, one day when at work in the hold, there came a young man on deck, and enquired if there were any Americans on board, and was informed of me. He gave me a call, and after a little conversation I found he had lived in the neighbourhood of my father, and informed me that my parents, and brothers and sisters were recently well, which was very satisfying to me.

After a while I fell in with an American brig belonging to Providence, commanded by E. H. Corey³. In this vessel was an Englishman that wanted to get into the English service, and with him I effected a change, and went on board the American brig.

[*Sail for the Feejee Islands.*] On the 1st of May 1808, we sailed from Port Jackson and after a passage of twelve days

¹ Bashee Islands, now usually called Batan Islands [Bashee and Batan being both small islands of the same group], lie midway between the northern point of the Philippines (Luzon) and the southern point of Formosa.

² The 'Letter of Marque' on which Patterson reached Port Jackson, was the "Harrington," Captain Wm. Campbell, which reached that port from China on the 30th of March, 1808 (H.R., N.S.W. vi, 671 and 818). Two months later (May 16th) the ship was seized and carried off from Port Jackson by convicts; and she was not discovered, and destroyed (off the Philippine Islands), till March, 1809 (*ib.* 671). It was when thus deprived of his ship that Campbell proceeded in the "Favorite" to Fiji for sandalwood (see note on p. 36 *ante*).

³ On the "Eliza," Captain Correy; see note on p. 14 *ante*.

arrived at Tongataboo. While lying here there came two men to us, John Husk and Charles Savage¹, and stated that the Port-au-Prince, an English Letter of Marque, had been taken by the savages, and all the hands massacred, excepting 21, and they were two of the survivors, but the others were on different islands. These men wanted a passage, and we received them on board. They also informed us that a chief by the name of Torki² intended to rise on us. Great numbers of the natives came alongside, and we had a profitable trade with them for a number of days.

On the 16th of May, it being calm, we could not get underway, and there came 140 canoes of savages along side and went to trading; at length the chief, who had laid his plans to take us, made his appearance, and we permitted him to come on board. We kept every man to his arms, but soon one of the Englishmen who knew their signs and language, told our captain that a signal was given to attack us, he asked by whom, and was told by Torki the chief, who was sitting by the taffil rail³. The Captain then pointed a pistol at him, at which he fell off backward and went on board of his canoe. At this time I was unwell, but was called from below by the captain, and directed to sit on the hen coop with a brace of pistols and a cutlass, and not to let my weakness be observed,

¹ Charles Savage, unless that was an assumed name, was not a survivor from the "Port au Prince" (see Mariner's *Tonga*, II, 77). He may have belonged to the "Duke of Portland," or, like Oliver Slater, he may have been a survivor from the wreck of the "Argo" (in 1800). The reference to his being able to speak the Fijian language, or at any rate know enough of the Tongan language to be able to make himself understood in the Fijian Lau Islands—which Tongans had already begun to invade—make it certain that for some time previous to the wreck of the "Eliza" he had been a "beach-comber" in some of the islands thereabout. (See note, p. 17 *ante*, and p. 175 *n. post*).

John Husk's name is not in Mariner's list of survivors from the "Port au Prince," but a "John Hearsey, sail-maker," is mentioned as having "left the island of Tonga in an American vessel; but was accidentally drowned at the Feejee islands, as reported by some Englishmen at Fiji" (Mariner's *Tonga Islands*, II, 76). It is probable that John Hearsey left Tonga in the "Eliza," under the name of John Husk.

² *Torki* should perhaps be *Togi* (axe), the name given by the Tongans to Mariner.

³ "Taffil rail" is a curious version of taffrail or taffatet, *i.e.* the stern-end of the ship.

for I was hardly able to walk. The savages were soon dispersed and we got immediately under weigh.

At this place we purchased quite a number of canoes to carry to the Feejee islands to purchase Santle wood. This wood is of great value in India, and is burnt there before the gods, in an offering of sweet incense, and the most pleasant fans are made of it; the oil of this wood is a perfume, very delightful, and is a rich fragrance for furniture. Our voyage to the Feejee Islands was principally to procure this article. We touched at a number of islands, and on the 20th of June were nigh the place to which we were bound¹.

[*Shipwreck near the Feejee Islands, and our first getting on shore at Nirie².*] On the 20th of June 1808, being in S. lat. 17° 40', E. Long 179°, at about eleven o'clock P.M. the man who had the lookout on the forecastle, seeing breakers but just ahead, cried out with the greatest vehemence, and gave us the alarm. I then was sick in my bunk below, but with the others I jumped out, but before we could get on deck the vessel struck on the rocks. We caughted the axe and cut away the rigging, and the masts went over the side; and as they fell brake our whaleboat in pieces, but we got the long boat out and put the money in it to the amount of 34000 dollars, the navigating implements, muskets, a cask of powder and balls, cutlasses and some of our clothes: we also lashed two canoes together, and John Husk and William Brown went on board of them to keep them astern of the long boat and heading the seas, while the rest of us went into the long boat. Our fears

¹ *I.e.* to Sandalwood Bay (Mbua).

² "Nirie" is Nairai Island, the true position of which is 17° 48' S. lat., 179° 23' E. long. The 'Eliza' was wrecked on the Mothea reef [now sometimes called the 'Eliza reef'], the southern portion of the barrier reef which almost completely surrounds the island. There is a good sketch of Nairai as seen from the south in the *Admiralty Sailing Directions (Pacific Islands, II, 373, ed. 1918)*, and a still better one in the corresponding Plan [No. 741]. No. 76 in the recently published "Sailing Ships of New England, 1607-1907" [Marine Research Society, Salem, Mass., 1922] is a reproduction of a water-colour drawing of the "Eliza," owned by Brown & Ives of Providence, R.I., "leaving Leghorn in 1805."

were great that, if the vessel went to pieces, we should be killed by the timbers. The violence of the swell and the sea running high, set the canoes a surging, which parted the line they were made fast with, and they went adrift, and Husk, being an excellent swimmer, said to Brown, I must bid you goodbye and swim to the wreck, and he was seen no more, but Brown stayed on the canoes and drifted with them, and fortunately, three days after was drove on the shore of the island of Booyer¹ and six months after met us at Nirie. We lay by the wreck all night in the long boat, and when daylight appeared in the morning, we saw the island of Nirie, one of the Feejees, about nine miles distant from us, and we took our two remaining boats and steered for it. The natives seeing us coming, came down in great numbers with their implements of war, such as bows and arrows, spears and war clubs, and gave us to understand that they would not injure us if we would give them what we had in our boats; and on the condition of our lives being spared, we let them take the whole. While the natives were carrying their spoil up to the village, I being sick was lagging along behind, when one of them came up to me, and took off my hat, in which was my pocket book, which contained my protection and other papers; but I gave them to understand that if they would let me retain my papers, they might freely have my hat and pocket book. But they took the papers and rolled them up and put them thro' the holes in the rims of their ears and wore them off. They then took from me my jacket, trowsers, and shirt, but I could not see what they wanted them for, for they were all naked, and never wore any clothes of consequence. I now was left naked, but was not much ashamed, for all around us

¹ Patterson uses the name "Booyer" both for the comparatively near and, as he seems to have thought it, small island which, at a little later period (p. 108), he himself visited in the company of the Chief of Nairai and for the more distant place at which the sandalwood ships were found to be lying. The small island which he called Booyer must have been Vuya Point, the south-western extremity of Vanua Levu and the nearest part of "the Great Land" to Nairai; and the anchorage of the ships was in Mbua Bay (Lockyer's "Myemboo"), which is considerably farther north along the coast of Vanua Levu. Deceived by the similarity of the names Vuya and Mbua, he called them both Booyer.

were in the same condition. As I drew nigh the village where the officers and the rest of the crew were gone, and were eating of the produce of the island, I saw a great awkward savage have the captain's silk coat, trying to put it on for a pair of breeches or trowsers. I went up to him and took and put it on myself, and then took it off and handed it to him, and he put it on and wore it off, and notwithstanding my situation I could not but smile for a moment at his ignorance. I found all my shipmates in the same naked situation with myself. The captain endeavoured to encourage us, and told us he would try to prevail on the chief to let us have the long boat; and after about one week he procured it and started off with his two mates, and two others, having first collected as much of the money from the savages as they could, in all about 6000 dollars¹.

When they set off the captain called us down to the boat, gave us our charge, and shook hands with us. He told us that he was going to the island of Booyer in hopes of finding a ship lying there, and if he did he would be back in the course of a week and take us off; he ordered us to collect what money we could from the savages, and take care of it, which we endeavoured to do, though it was attended with considerable difficulty, for it was scattered extensively among the ignorant natives.

On parting with the captain, no tongue can tell my feelings; I then reflected on my past conduct, especially in disregarding my mother, and leaving her as I had done. I retired to a cocoa nut tree and sat down under it and gave vent to a flood of tears.

Those who went with the captain were, Billy Ellerin² chief mate, Seth Barton second mate, Charles Bowen, a son of judge Bowen on the Mohawk river and nephew of Dr Bowen of Providence, and John Holden.

The captain found an American ship³ at Booyer, but did

¹ Note that Captain Correy when he left Nairai took with him 6000 of the dollars which had been brought off in the long boat.

² The chief mate's name, according to Lockerby, was Elderkin.

³ The "Jenny." It should be noted that Patterson says nothing of the captain's party having been at Ambau (Mbau) on the way to Mbua (see note, p. 15).

not return as soon as was expected, and not until I was gone from Nirie. He however at length came back, but succeeded only to bring off his boy. The savages opposed him, and two of those with him were killed, and several wounded. He sailed for Canton, but before he arrived he put into port in distress, took charge of a Spanish ship, was cast away and died¹.

Charles Savage, who was with us when we landed in this melancholy place, could speak the language of this people and was of great use to us as an interpreter².

[*A visit to Beteger, another of the Feejee Islands, with an account of the Religion and Customs of the People of Feejee.*] After we had been a while on the island of Nirie, a chief from another of the Feejee Islands called Beteger³ came to us, and being much pleased with us, persuaded myself and one of my shipmates, Noah Steere by name, to go home with him. We took all the money we had collected and went. Beteger lies not far from Nirie, and we arrived there in a few hours. The people of this place were very fond of us, and the chief used to take us over his plantations and shew us his cane and the produce he had growing.

While on these islands, some of our company having some pumpkin and watermelon seeds and some corn, we planted them; but before they were ripe, or half grown, the ignorant savages picked them, and came to us to know what they should do with them. We told them that if they had left them alone till they had come to maturity, they would have been a good substitute for bread, but they said *sicingi*⁴, that is, no.

The food of this country is, yams, potatoes, plantains, cocoanuts, bananas, taros, breadfruit, human flesh, an inferior kind of swine which they raise, etc. The breadfruit grows on trees fifteen or twenty feet high, and is as large as our middling

¹ As to Captain Correy's subsequent fate, see *S.G.* extract, p. 202 *post*.

² See note, p. 95 *ante*.

³ "Beteger" (Patterson must have pronounced the *g* in this hard) is Mbatiki, which is the nearest island to Nairai, twelve miles to the eastward, and therefore slightly off the direct course which ships would take in making for Mbua.

⁴ *Sicingi* is meant for *sengai* (the negative "no").

sized pumpkins, and when ripe is yellow. They pluck it and boil it in pots made of clay, and then take out the core, and place it in a kind of vat fixed in the earth for the purpose; the women then, entirely naked, tread it down with their feet; and after putting on some plantain leaves, cover it with earth. After it is fermented, they take it out and make it into a kind of dumplings, called by them *munries*¹.

When cultivating their lands, and in their other labours, about noon they generally have a hole dug in the ground, heated by a fire made in it, and after they clean out the coal and ashes, they lay in their dead bodies, human, if they have any for eating, if not hogs, and also potatoes and yams. On these they place a covering of straw, and then bring on the hot ashes and earth. After a few hours they take out the flesh etc., and each one receives his share.

Their method of tilling the ground is by hand to dig up the earth with sticks sharpened, or levers, and then with their hands plant yams or potatoes. Plantains and bananas are raised by separating and transplanting the sions each season; but about all the other fruits of these islands are naturally produced by the soil.

These savages are cannibals², and eat the bodies of their own malefactors, and all those of their prisoners: and as they were continually at war with some of the tribes around them, and the breach of their own laws, in nearly every case was punishable with death, they generally had a supply of human flesh.

These wretches also eat vermin of almost every description; and if by pulling up a bush or weed, or by any other means, they meet with worms, they are as sure and quick to devour them as dunghill fowls would be. One day the wife of a chief, having collected a lot of lice in her hand from the head of her little son, she beckoned to the chief, who was at a little distance, to come, and in his haste to possess himself of his game he hurried them too carelessly into his mouth; of this,

¹ *Munrie* appears to be meant for *mandrai* (see note p. 29 *ante*).

² Patterson's remarks on cannibalism should be compared with those of Lockerby (pp. 21, 22 *ante* and Siddons, pp. 171-2).

it seems, one of the scampering rogues some how took advantage and made his escape from the grinders down the lane of the chief's throat, and there taking his post to good advantage, he unmercifully choked the poor fellow. Notwithstanding the agony of the chief, Steere and myself could not avoid laughing at his flouncing; but this offended him much; and after he had obtained the better of the cruel little fellow in his throat, he called for his war club and was about to vent his rage on us for not being more solemn on so distressing an occasion. We thought then that the end of our days had come sure enough, and began to look for the fatal blow, which undoubtedly would have been given, had not a young chief, who was ever a friend to us, interceded on our behalf: by this means our lives were spared and we escaped.

Their religion appears to be as follows, each tribe has a man, something like a priest, called *Rombetty*¹, and in the midst of their villages, they have a large building called a *Booree-curlow*, that is house of the Spirit, for the purpose of their religious devotion, where they worship the sun, moon and stars. To this sanctuary the people retire every morning, led by their *Rombetty*, whom they follow promiscuously: at the house they appear very solemn and regular; and apparently seriously retire after their service is ended.

In their devotion they have a kind of sacrament, using the root which is called in the Sandwich Islands *ava* but *angooner*² in this country. In the first place they wash the root

¹ *Rombetty* should be *ra mbeti* which may be aptly translated "Sir Priest."

Booree-curlow (*i.e.* *Mbure-kalou*) is "the house of the Spirit"—and thus in charge of Sir Priest.

² *Angooner* stands for *yangona* (often pronounced *angona*), the Fijian name for *kava* or *ava* of other South Sea Islands. Patterson's description of the mode of preparation of this beverage is accurate. But the practice which he here attributes to the Nairai folk, of mixing the *yangona* in a hole in the ground lined with a plantain leaf, is unusual and probably only a 'makeshift.' The almost universal practice is to mix it in the special and much treasured wooden dish called *tanoa*. The serving of the *yangona* in plantain leaves instead of in coco-nut cups (*mbilo*) is also unusual except in the rare case of no *mbilo* being at hand. Patterson's suggestion of the sacramental nature of *yangona* drinking is remarkable; those of us who have often taken part in such ceremonies will think of it as very far from inapt. It is noteworthy that Lockerby makes no mention of *yangona* drinking.

clean, and then chew it, and put it into a large plantain leaf, which is as big as a small tea table, which they lay in a hole in the ground, and then pour a small quantity of water to it, and rinse the substance out. This liquor the Rombetty serves out in small plantain leaves to his people, and as each one receives it, they all clap their hands and say *manner angooner*¹, which is returning thanks to God in their way. After partaking of this they think they are happy, its effect being similar to that of laudanum.

Circumcision is a sacred rite among the natives of Feejee, and they circumcise their male children when young.

All the marriages are made by the parents when the children are in infancy; at which time the parties get together and have a great feast of the best the country affords, and partake of the *angooner* root; and after the young couple arrive to the age of maturity they live together. The chief is allowed eight or ten wives if he chuses. Adultery is punished with the deaths of both the offenders. If the husband expires before the wife, she is choked to death² by putting a bark round her neck, and twisting it with a stick until she is dead, and they are buried together in the same grave; but if the woman dies first, the man is suffered to live unmolested. And, if the chief dies, having ten wives, they must all be choked to death and buried with him.

It is an abomination among them to sneeze³, and if one of the lower class happens to do this, the cry is, *armattee armattee*

¹ *Manner angooner* should be *mana! yangona*. Hazlewood's *Fijian Dictionary* (p. 76) defines *mana* as "a word used when addressing a heathen deity—'so be it,' 'let it be so.'" In other words, *mana! yangona* is a "grace" before drinking; correspondingly, though Patterson does not mention this, "*a matha*" (it is empty) is the exclamation proper after the *yangona* cup has been drained to the dregs.

² Cf. Lockerby (p. 63) and Siddons (p. 166) on widow strangling.

³ In many parts of the world there is a special exclamation proper to be made when a person sneezes; generally it is a blessing, *e.g.* the German "Gesundheit." In Fiji the blessing was, and is, *a mbula* (may you live); but, according to Patterson, the blessing (*ambuller, ambuller*) was reserved for the chiefs and their ladies—the plebeians instead being saluted with a curse (*armattee, armattee* (*a mate, a mate*), Death to you). Sir Basil Thomson informs me that he never heard the curse for a sneeze used, but he has called attention to Mariner's account of how a sneeze nearly cost him his life at the hands of his generally friendly Tongan host Finau (Mariner's *Tonga Islands*, I, 456).

that is, that he might die, but if one of the chiefs, or their wives should thus happen to do, they say *ambuller*, *ambuller* that is, that he might be well. But one morning a wife of a chief being about to sneeze, she violently seized her nose to prevent it; but as humorous nature was not to be baffled in this way, there was not a little disturbance at this comical affair. Steere and myself could not well keep from laughing a little; but the chief was greatly offended, and was about to kill us immediately for our impudence, but a young chief interceded for us, and we escaped his fury.

The men of these islands have no other dress but a strip of cloth about six inches wide, and six feet long, bro't up between the legs, and then passing round the waist, with one end hanging down before and the other behind, called *marrar*¹. Their hair they burn or sear short, and erect in every direction, dressed with the white ashes of the bread-fruit tree leaves, made into a kind of paste, and fixed among it.

The dress of the women is a band about six inches wide, and long enough to pass around the waist, curiously worked of grass and bark of different colours, called *leeky*². This they fix around their middle, with a lock of grass about six inches long hanging down before. Their head dress is the hair about six inches long fixed erect, scorched or burnt with brands of fire to make it curl and keep its place; they then place the ash-paste over the whole head, which when dry appears like white hair powder. That their heads thus fixed may not be ruffled, or the dressing injured when sleeping, a stick curiously worked, of the size of a walking staff, is placed about five inches from the ground on small crotches, and on this they lay their heads across not far from the back side of one of their ears³, while the rest of the body lies on the ground or a mat, entirely naked.

¹ *Marrar* is the narrow strip of bark cloth (or *taua*) which in most parts of Fiji is called *masi* (Lockyer calls it *mossey*, see p. 39 *ante*), but in other parts is called *malo* or *maro*. It is the men's usual loin-cloth.

² *Leeky* should be *liku*, the Fijian woman's ordinary dress.

³ The headrest is called *kali*; that for a child or a sick person is *ai lokoloko*.

These people are well shaped, and of comely features in many instances, their hair black and naturally straight, and their skin of a copper colour, excepting in a single instance we saw one who was white amongst them¹, as Steere and myself were walking out, he was in company with a large collection, and I thinking he was an European, and being overjoyed, cried out, how fare you shipmate? But the savages broke out in a great laughter, saying *taw haw haw haw peppa langa Feejee peppa langa Feejee*², that is white man of Feejee. Whether any others were white among them I never knew.

[*My dreadful sufferings at Feejee.*] I was in a poor lingering and debilitated state of health; sometimes I could eat of the produce of the country, and sometimes I could not relish it, and almost starved for food. I would go into the huts and look up to the baskets which hung on the ridge pole of the houses with provisions in them to keep from the vermin, look at the chief's wife and put my hand on my breast and say, *sarbeur canur cooue*³, which is, I am hungry, and she would give me a piece of yam or potatoe. But one day when we were very hungry, we took a walk out to get some plantains, but came to a tree on which they were not ripe; and in order that we might have some to eat another day, we pulled off a few and buried them in the hot sand to ripen; but looking up we saw standing on a hill a savage, and he made at us at full speed with his war club. Steere ran, but I being lame had to stay and take the worst of it: the savage came up and kicked me over, and kicked me after I was down, and left me for dead; he then dug up the plantains and carried and shewed them to the chief. But I, recovering, got up and went and entered my complaint likewise to him, but he also was angry with me and I could get no redress.

¹ Albinism is rare in Fiji; but there are known to be certain families (*matangali*) in which the occurrence of an albino in each generation is essential to the retention by that family of its individual rights.

² The phrase beginning *taw haw haw haw* stands for *Ha! Ha! Ha! Ha!* *Papalangi Viti, papalangi Viti*, i.e. the white man of Fiji.

³ *Sarbeur canur cooue* seems intended for *sa via kana* (*uvi-yam-* or perhaps *ko iko*, you).

I continued growing weaker till my feeble limbs could no longer support me, and one day in walking out, I fell and could not get up; at which the savages called Steere to my assistance, and he carried me into the chief's hut. Here I stayed a few days and fared as they did: but one day they smelling a noisome scent, laid it to a man in the hut, but he denying it, they charged it to me. The chief then ordered me to be carried out and placed in a hut they had built for the purpose of putting in yams, but it had stood so long as to be much decayed.

For about five weeks I was unable a considerable part of the time to go out of this hut, or even to turn myself, but endured more than can possibly be expressed. All my bedding was only a hard mat spread on the ground, on which, naked and without a covering, I lay. When it rained the water would pour upon me in streams, and the ground under me became mud, and the water around me half deep enough to cover me. In this situation I was often obliged to lie, being unable to move or help myself. Night after night without any human being near me, I have spent thus lying in the water and mud, while peals and peals of thunder, seemingly shook the very foundations of the earth, and unremitting streams of lightnings would seem as though volcanoes were bursting in every direction around me. When the storms ceased, and the water dried away from my bed, by day my naked emaciated body was bitten and stung with numerous insects, which constantly, on all days, never ceased to devour me. I was nearly blind with soreness of eyes¹, the use of one leg entirely gone, and distressingly afflicted with the gravel, which were my principal complaints, together with a general weakness through the whole system.

While lying in this situation these cannibals would often come and feel of my legs and tell me *peppa langa sar percolar en deeni*², that is, white man you are good to eat. We had bullock's hides on board with their horns on, which the

¹ *Theka* (acute conjunctivitis). See note p. 24 *ante*.

² By *peppa langa sar percolar en deeni* is meant *papalangisa mbokolandina*, which may be translated "the white man is verily a corpse for the oven."

savages had taken, and I used to tell them if they would leave off eating their own flesh or human beings, God would send them such cattle as those hides were taken from; but they said they did not want them, for they should be afraid of them.

The women would also come and ask me when I was going to die, and I used to tell them, when the Lord should see fit to take me out of the world; and they would say if they were half so sick they would die right off. They asked me where I came from; and I told them from America, a land away out of sight; they then asked me if we had any women among us, I said yes, but they replied *sicingi*, that is, no. I then asked where they thought we came from, and they pointed up to the sun, and said, *peppa langa tooranga martinasinger*¹, that is, white men are chiefs from the sun. I told them, no, we had women in our country and came into the world as they did, and that their God was our God, and that one God was God over all; but they said our God was a greater God than theirs. After we found that they believed that our God was greater than theirs, we endeavoured to make them afraid, and told them if they killed us our God would be angry with them, and they would not conquer their enemies, nor raise anything on their lands.

While confined in my hut the women would come and examine me, to see if I was circumcised, and when they found that I was not, they would point their fingers at me and say that I was unclean. They used to bring calabashes of water and roll me over, and wash the mud from my body, and, by my request, stream breast-milk into my eyes, to cure them.

That we might not lose our time or dates, we kept the day of the week and month thus; we knew the day we were shipwrecked was the 20th of June; we for then took a spear of grass, and for every day tied a knot, and for every Sunday tied two, one over the other. By this means we found out when Christmas came. On this day I told Steere we must have something better than common to eat; he then asked me what it could be? I told him to go out among the sugar

¹ *Peppa langa tooranga martinasinger* is *papalangi turanga mata ni singa*, i.e. "White man lord of the sun."

canes, and knock over one of the chief's fowls, and take it, and pull up a handful of herbs, and tell the chief he wanted to make me some tea, and so borrow a pot of him, and make him think we wanted it for that purpose, while we should be cooking the fowl with it. Thus we had our feast, and felt as well perhaps as many would on the best dainties in America.

At length my eyes were some better, and my strength in some small degree restored. And one day Steere, travelling along the beach, discovered a canoe handy to be launched, and he informed me of it: I told him that I had a mat that we could make a lug sail of, and on a favourable hour we would try to launch the canoe and be off. Being ready, one night Steere came to me and said "Sam, the savages are all asleep, and we will make an attempt to get away." He took me on his back and carried me down to the canoe; we took a calabash of water, some yams, breadfruit and potatoes. We attempted to launch the canoe, but it fell off a log and partly broke in two. We got it off to a reef, but it leaked so bad as to be partly filled with water, and we found we must return. We had got back near the beach just as the savages were turning out in the morning. They ran and informed the chief, and he came in a great rage with his war club to kill us. We fell down on our knees and pleaded his clemency, and the young chief, our friend, also begged that we might be spared, and finally we were forgiven, and I was returned to my hut.

In this situation I lay about three weeks longer, and during this time was awfully tempted with the devil; he told me that if I could die, it would be an end to all, and sometimes he made me believe it, but at other times I was of a different opinion, and attempted to pray as follows; O Lord, spare my unprofitable life and enable me to get off this savage island, and protect me once more over the boisterous ocean to my native country, and I will try by thy assistance to seek religion and become what thou wouldest have me to be.

After this I was moved with the insinuations of satan again, and made to believe that all could be well with me, if I should then be dispatched to the world of spirits, and I put a piece of bark about my neck, and made an effort to hang myself,

but was so weak that I could not get the bark over the ridge pole of the house, and was unable to accomplish my awful design.

[*Visit Booyer and return to Nirie.*] At length the chief being about to set out on a journey, with his canoes, to the island of Booyer¹, another of the Feejees, Steere and myself persuaded him to let us go with him, and we arrived there the evening of the same day, and were kindly received by the savages.

During our stay here, one morning a canoe came to this island, with one man in it, with whom the natives of this place were at war. He was mistrusted to be a spy, and the savages drew up around him, and after discoursing a while with him, they found him to be a hostile chief, and with a club gave him a furious blow on one side of his head, and broke it to such a degree that his brains ran out at his ears. As we knew the cannibal custom of these wretches, we told them it was utterly wrong and that God would be angry with them for eating their fellow beings; and to gratify us they agreed to bury the spy, and took him away professedly for that purpose. But about four hours after, I was in the chief's hut, and a piece of this human flesh rolled up in a plantain leaf, was sent in for the chief's wife, and she ate it. I told her what she had been eating, she denied it at first, but at length owned that the flesh was of the man that I saw killed.

The greediness of these people, and all cannibals, for human flesh is astonishingly great, and perhaps there is no evil habit so hard to be eradicated as this inhuman one: it has been known that even after the practice has been renounced, and the persons christianized, still a lurking hankering appetite has remained a long time.

After being here some weeks and seeing no prospect of getting off, the chief of Nirie arrived, and he persuaded us to go back with him to his island again.

I was now on the spot where I first landed from the wreck, and fell in company with two of my shipmates, Brown, who had drifted from the wreck on the canoes, and a black fellow.

¹ As to *Booyer*, see note p. 97 *ante*.

[*My departure from Nirie to an American ship at Booyer.*] Seeing no prospect of relief, we persuaded the chief to let us have an old canoe that he had condemned, and we patched it up and consulted with Brown and the black man about going to the island of Booyer in search of a ship. John, the black man, agreed to go, but Brown said the expedition was too dangerous, and should decline going; and he went and joined the chief to whom he had belonged, to assist him fight his battles, he being then at war.

Some of our men were so unwise as to go with the natives into their battles with muskets and kill many of the opposite party, who had never injured them, and pleased their employers much. They were extremely afraid of a gun, and seldom would fire one themselves, and whenever they did they would pull and at the same time drop the piece on the ground and spring from it, that it might not kick them over or turn its thunder against them.

The condition on which we obtained the old canoe, was, as the chief expected that I must soon die, Steere and John were to take me to the island of Booyer and put me on board of a ship which he knew had gone there, and get knives beads, scissors, and whale's teeth, and bring them to him as a present.

We, having on board water, yams, and potatoes, and being ready to depart, the chief and the savages came down, and brought some *angooner*, and we partook with them in their sacrament, and they wished us good success.

One of the natives got into our canoe with us and piloted us over the reef, which lay about one and a half miles from the shore. He then, with his war club, which they always carry with them, jumped over board and swam to the shore. This was about nine o'clock in the morning, and we stood on with the trade winds, running about five miles an hour; and at sunset we were out of sight of land.

We ran on all that night, with fresh breezes and squalls. The next morning we saw a canoe running down for us, and were much affrighted. The guy that held our mast failed, and our sail went overboard; it was with difficulty that we

spliced our guy and got our mast up again. By this time the canoe with the natives came up with us, and they seeing we were white men cried out, *taw haw haw haw peppa langa na wanga matta*¹, that is, the white men of the ship that was broke. They held up some provision that was cooked, and asked us if we were hungry? and if we wanted some meat? We told them no, for we were afraid of them, and did not chuse to have them come on board of us.

We steered on about two hours longer, and Steere cried out, "Sam, I see a sail, I see a sail!" I told him that I guessed it was one of the savages' double canoes but he said no, for he could see her courses and her topsails. My eyes being sore at that time I could not see far, but after a little while, having run on further, I could clearly discover a sail myself. We strove to make ahead as fast as we could, in order to fall in with the vessel if possible, but she sailed much faster than we, and soon left us at a greater distance in the rear.

Being out of hopes of coming up with the sail we had seen, we looked away to the leeward and saw the land, which proved to be the island of Booyer. We steered on after the unknown sail, thinking it would be a good guide for us.

The vessel was round the point of Booyer, on the account of shoal water, and we steered across, but had like to have been upset in the breakers, we got over the reef, but soon lost sight of the vessel, in consequence of the sun going down. But we looked away ahead and saw some mangrove bushes, and took them to be land; but when we got up to them, and finding them to be bushes, we run in among them, in order to make the canoe fast, and lie there all night.

My two shipmates lay down and went to sleep, and left me bailing out the water from the canoe with a calabash shell. About ten o'clock I got the water all out, and being weary and sleepy, not having slept any the night before, I put my hands on my knees and laid my head in them and fell asleep. How long I slept I know not; but when I awoke the canoe had sunk. My shipmates awaking cried out, "Sam,

¹ *Ha! ha! papalangi na wanga mate* is "the white man's canoe is a wreck."

what did you let the canoe sink for?" The roots of the man-grove trees prevented the canoe from going to the bottom. Steere and John climbed up on the bushes, in order to keep out of the water: but I being lame, and not able to climb, reached up and took hold of the halyard and pulled myself up, but at the top of high water, every sea that came, went over my head: between the seas I was just able to catch my breath, and in this situation, naked and distressed, I hung until morning, when the tide fell away and left the canoe bare. We bailed out the water and hoisted our sail again.

Hearing the savages talk on the land, we were greatly alarmed for fear they would come on board and rob us, and kill us, for we had all the money on board that we had collected at Nirie. But about seven o'clock in the morning, the tide rose so that the canoe floated again, and we steered on round the island, in order to find the ship we saw the day before.

When we had sailed on about one and a half hour, Steere cried out "Sam I see the vessels!" I looked up and beheld them about two miles distant, and cast my eyes up to heaven, and returned hearty thanks, though at that time I was a poor abandoned sinner.

We ran on to the highest vessel, and it proved to be the brig Favorite of Port Jackson in New Holland, and commanded by Captain Camel, who commanded the Letter of Marque that I went on board of in India, and had the same chief mate, Arnold Fisk an American, son of Isaac Fisk of Cranston in Rhode Island.

My companions jumped up out of the canoe on board of the vessel, and being so overjoyed at finding themselves out of the hands of savages, they neglected to tell the ship's crew that I was lame, and wanted assistance.

After being alongside in the canoe a few minutes, one of the sailors looked over the side of the vessel, and said: "Ship-mate why don't you come on board, haven't you been there long enough, without a shirt?" I replied that I had lost the use of a limb, and if I got on board I must have assistance. They immediately rove the manropes and jumped down, and helped me up on board of the vessel.

I was an object of pity; the use of one leg entirely gone, so weak that I was not able to stand, and my body burned with the scorching sun in such a manner, that I was blistered from the crown of my head to the sole of my feet, even the rims of my eyes were blistered.

My shipmates brought me a shirt, and pair of trowsers: and they brought us a bottle and gave us a drink of grog, and a chew of tobacco. I looked round and thought if there was any heaven, I had got to one, in being out of the hands of savages, and on board of an European vessel.

Breakfast being ready, we went down and eat. We enquired what other two vessels those were in sight, and were told that one was the General Wellesley of London: and the other, brig Elizabeth of Port Jackson. We asked them what day of the month it was, and they told us; we overhauled our string of nots, and found we were correct with the exception of one day which we had lost.

On board I fell in with William Shaddock, who was cast away with us, and had got on board of the "Favorite" before us.

I stayed on board this ship three days, when she sailed¹, and we went on board of the General Wellesley.

A few days after this Steere and John agreed to take a canoe, with some of the natives of Booyer, and return to Nirie to buy or collect the remainder of the money of the brig Eliza, the vessel in which we were cast away, which was scattered among the savages there. For this purpose they took cloths, knives, scissors, beads, axes, chissels and pieces of ivory made into the form of whale's teeth²; but before they left the vessel, Steere and John disagreed and took each of them a separate canoe, with a number of the savages, and proceeded on their voyage, armed with muskets, spears and clubs. On their passage they fell in with some hostile natives

¹ The "Favorite," under Arnold Fiske as captain, reached Port Jackson on the 21 Nov. 1808 (H.R., N.S.W. vi, 818).

² Many of the so-called whale's teeth used in Fiji for purposes of barter were cut out by sailors from odd pieces of ivory. These artificial teeth must not be confused with the necklaces which, according to Mariner (1, p. 311) the Tongans fashioned for themselves from real whale's teeth got from stranded whales.

of another island, in canoes and armed with war clubs and spears, with whom they had a severe skirmish: their design was to possess themselves of the goods on board.

In the defence, John was killed with a spear through his body, but Steere, opening a brisk fire upon them, they were soon repulsed, and he went on his way without being further molested.

Steere succeeded in collecting a considerable sum of the money, and returned on board of the General Wellesley, and joined Shaddock and myself.

We lay here about seven weeks, when we sailed round to the other side of the island¹, where we fell in with the ship T— of New York, captain Brumley, and were sent on board of her, with all our money. The captain having a plenty of provisions, was willing to receive us, and agreed to carry us where there was a consul, to be further provided for.

I knowing the boatswain and several of the hands, being men that I had sailed with before, I advised the boatswain, or some of the men, to take charge of the money in my care: but they refused for fear their chests would be broken open and robbed. But the captain took it into his care, agreeing to give it up when we should arrive in Canton.

We continued on board of the Tonquin about three months before we sailed, when, being ready for sea, we weighed anchor and proceeded for Canton.

[*Sail for China.*] After a pleasant voyage of six weeks, we arrived at Macoa, and after getting refreshments and a pilot on board, we sailed and came to anchor eighteen miles below Canton.

The ship lay here some months; but captain Brumley went immediately up to Canton in his boat, and here he saw the American consul, and informed him that he had three men on board, who were shipwrecked on the Feejees, and told him of the money we had saved from the wreck, which was in his possession.

¹ “The other side of the island” meant not the other side of Vanua Levu, but the other side of the Nai Vaka headland (Lockyer’s “High-parker”) which intervenes between Mbua Bay and Wailea Bay.

The consul advised that we and the money should be committed to his care, and we accordingly were placed on his hands, and the money was delivered to him. This was in July 1809.

At first the consul appeared to be unwilling to believe but that I was an Englishman; but he was convinced to the contrary, and used me with great kindness and my heart can never lose a tender affection for his great goodness to me in my bitter affliction.

[*My shipmates sail for America, and I take a Cruise with the Chinese against their Enemies.*] Steere having the use of his limbs, and being able to do his duty, went on board of the ship G——, captain Grenville, bound to Boston, and thus he succeeded to get home; but I, being lame, remained on the consul's hands a number of months longer. My other shipmates sailed for New York.

In the course of my stay here, the Chinese were at war, and they employed an English ship, called the Mercury, Captain Williams; she was manned out by Europeans, and the consul put me on board of her as a gunner's assistant. Being ready for sea, we sailed; and cruising about the Chinese sea twenty four days, we fell in with nothing of importance. We returned again, and I was sent immediately on the consul's hands as before.

After about three weeks, the "Ann and Hope" of Providence, Rhode Island, arrived here, Captain Daniel Olney commander. The ship belonged to the same men that the brig belonged unto, in which I was shipwrecked.

My heart rejoiced at this circumstance, and I was very sure in my mind now, of a passage home.

The ship lay here about six weeks before she was ready for sea: and one morning as I was sitting in a door smoking, I saw captain Olney coming along, and being told it was the last time he would be on shore before he sailed I called to him, and asked him if he could give me a passage home? but he answered that he could not, as he had more hands than he had provision for already. The reply went to my heart like a naked sword.

[*My return to America.*] Not long from this, the Baltic of Providence arrived, commanded by captain Jonathan Eborn: he came up to Canton, and the consul informed him of me, and asked him if he knew such a person. Captain Eborn came and entered into conversation with me, to find where I belonged, and on his first speaking to me I called him by name, shook hands with him and told him who I was,—that I was an apprentice to him when I was a boy, and that he was the first man that I sailed with. He asked me what my name was, I told him, and that I was his apprentice boy when he sailed out of Providence in Butler's employ¹. After recollecting me, he seemed to be much affected with my misfortunes, and told me to get ready, and go with him down to his ship, and he would take me home.

My joy I cannot describe; I went with the Captain on board of the ship, happy in the prospect of once more seeing my native country.

I found on board a number of hands I was acquainted with when I was a boy; and I fared uncommonly well, on anything the ship afforded.

At length all things being ready, in January 1810, we sailed for the United States of America.

After a passage of about five months and a half, from China, round Cape of Good Hope, we arrived safe at Newport in Rhode Island. We tarried there one day, and then pressed up the river to Providence, and arrived there on the 9th of June.

Thus after an absence of almost six years, I once more beheld the land of Freedonia; having seen numerous distant, and extremely different regions of the world, with thousands of their inhabitants.

¹ As to Patterson's service under Captain Jonathan Eborn of Pawtucket, see p. 90 *ante*.

JOURNAL OF THE MISSIONARIES
PUT ASHORE FROM THE "HIBERNIA"
ON AN ISLET IN THE FIJI GROUP
IN 1809-10

JOURNAL OF THE MISSIONARIES

[Here follows, by courtesy of the London Missionary Society, an extract from a manuscript journal recently discovered among the unprinted, and even unregistered, early papers of the Society. The extract here made from this journal records the experiences of the writer, Brother John Davies, and of his fellow-Tahitian missionaries, who, having found it necessary to quit their station, were for a short time stranded on a Fijian islet off the coast of Vanua Levu, at the end of 1809, toward the end of the sandalwood boom—almost certainly the same islet on which William Lockerby had assembled his wood only a few months previously.

In 1796 the “Missionary Society”—it changed its name to the “London Missionary Society” only in 1818¹—had sent representatives to Tahiti, as also to the Marquesas and to Tongatabu, by the ship “Duff,” Captain James Wilson. Again in 1800, the “Duff,” while on a second voyage in the mission service, having been captured by the French privateer “Le Grand Buonaparte” in the previous year, the Society sent reinforcements to Tahiti by the transport “Royal Admiral,” Captain William Wilson, which sailed by Port Jackson and Tahiti to Canton.

For a time the missionaries worked with success among the Tahitians. But by 1808 the unconverted natives had revolted; and when, on the 17th of October, 1809, the brig “Hibernia,” Captain William Campbell, came into harbour, in company with the Port Jackson schooner “Venus,” Captain Burbank, which Campbell had just succeeded in re-capturing from the revolted natives, the missionaries were almost unanimously glad to take passage in her, originally intending to tranship at the Fiji Islands into a ship bound for Port Jackson—the “Hibernia” intending to sail thence straight to Canton.

The object of the call of the “Hibernia” at “the Feejees” was to pick up a cargo of sandalwood for the Chinese market; and Captain Campbell had determined to approach “Sandalwood Island” by a new route, *i.e.* along the northern coast of Vanua Levu; and, in following this track (which is indicated on Arrowsmith’s chart) the “Hibernia,” with the “Venus” in tow, got into serious difficulty in the maze of islands and reefs,

¹ *Hist. of L.M.S.* pp. 30 and 88.

and was so damaged that she had to be laid up for repairs at an islet off the Mathuata coast. During these repairs, which took from the 20 Nov. to the 9 Jan., the missionaries, or most of them, took refuge in a hut which they built for themselves on the islet, and were thus the first of their profession to set foot on any Fijian island—though it has been commonly supposed that no missionaries got there till as late as 1835.

The party thus accidentally, and for a very short stay, introduced by the “Hibernia” had, however, very little communication with the natives; and though the journal adds to our knowledge of the conditions which prevailed in the group during the later part of the sandalwood period, most of the facts therein recorded, other than those derived from the writers own experience, must have been learned from Captain Campbell.

Having been unsuccessful in getting sandalwood, and the provisions necessary for the long voyage to Canton having been exhausted during the detention in Fiji, Captain Campbell determined to run for Port Jackson. The missionaries were re-embarked; and the “Hibernia,” after a call at Norfolk Island, reached Port Jackson on the 17th of February 1810.

On the same date the missionaries addressed the following letter¹ to Governor Macquarie:

Brig Hibernia, Sydney Cove,
17th Feb. 1810.

Sir,

We, the undersigned, having arrived in this port, think it our duty—with all due respect—to inform your Excellency thereof. For a long time we have resided on the island, Otaheite, as Christian missionaries. Some of us have been sent there in 1796, and the rest in 1800, at the expence and under the patronage and direction of the London Missionary Society. During our residence there we have endeavoured by all the means in our power to answer the purpose of our mission, acting as far as circumstances would permit, agreeable to the instructions we had received; nor sh'd we have relinquished our post had not necessity compelled us to it. A general rebellion at Otaheite having broken out in the end of 1808, the state of the island was such that, in order to save our lives and some of our property, we, and also Po-ma-ree, the king of the island, were under the necessity of making our escape. He, with some of our number went to the neighbouring island, Eimeo, but most of us went to Huahine, one of the Society Islands,

¹ H.R., N.S.W. VII, 290.

where in the course of some months we were joined by those who had gone with the king to Eimeo, one only excepted. Of what followed at Otaheite,—the capture of the *Venus*, &c.—your Excellency may be informed by Captain Campbell. The island, Otaheite, being in such a distracted state, and the anarchy likely to extend to the neighbouring islands, our houses being burnt, our gardens destroyed, and much of our property plundered, we were thrown into such a situation as we could not pursue the object of our mission, nor continue much longer in the islands with any reasonable prospect of safety. We were therefore under the necessity of taking our passage in the *Hibernia* for the colony of New South Wales. We are come to the colony as British subjects in distress, and from the many favors shewn us by its former Governors, together with the ideas we have formed of your Excellency's goodness and humanity, we are led to hope that our case will be taken into favourable consideration. We therefore humbly solicit your Excellency to grant us the privilege of becoming settlers in the colony. And awaiting your Excellency's commands,

We remain, &c.,

John Davies.	Samuel Tessier.
John Eyre.	Charles Wilson.
William Henry.	James Elder.
William Scott.	

Governor Macquarie answered on 22nd February¹, that he "was well disposed to afford the missionaries every reasonable consideration and indulgence; he had no objection to their becoming settlers, and would grant them allotments of land as soon as he could spare the necessary assistance of Government servants to labour it. At that time it was not in his power to render that assistance, owing to the scarcity of Government men to carry on public works. In the mean time such of them as were qualified to undertake the education of youth would be employed in that capacity, if agreeable to them. Such of them as were tradesmen could not fail of being able to support themselves and families by their own industry, and the few who might possibly be unable to render themselves useful to society and themselves would be indulged for a short time by being put on the Government stores. Such of them as were married and had children who wished to derive the advantage of the Government stores should please to send in to the Secretary's office the names of the wives and children, with the age, respectively, of the latter."

E. IM T.]

¹ H.R., N.S.W. vii. 291-2.

Tuesday, October 17, 1809. In the morning there was a cry among the natives that a vessel was in sight to the N., and soon afterwards that there was another. They both soon entered Faré¹ harbour and anchored not far from the shore. They proved to be the Hibernia Brig, Captain Campbell, and Venus schooner, lately taken by the Taheeteans but now recovered by Cap. C.² From the Capt., Mr. Berback and others on board we learned that Pomare and party sailed from Aimeo for Taheete in company with Capt. C., that while the Capt. was endeavouring to retake the vessel, which they had towed to the isthmus in her way to Tearabu³, Pomare and fleet made the District of Faena where the rebels had collected their forces and canoes, but being suddenly surprised by the unexpected arrival of Pomare they left their canoes by the sea side and fled up the valley. A party of Pomare's people, consisting chiefly of those from Huaheene, pursued them, the rebels rallied and faced the pursuers, trusting to a party that lay in ambush of which Pomare's people knew nothing till they were fired upon, the royalists were put in disorder and forced to retreat with the loss of 24 men, some of them noted warriors. The rebels pursued them in their turn to the sea side where P. and party saved themselves by getting on board their canoes. They, however, succeeded in seizing and taking away all the rebels' canoes. P. and fleet then sailed for the District of Pare, and Capt. C. having recovered the vessel and the men belonging to it sailed for Aimeo⁴, and a few days after for this harbour. From this account it is evident that the affairs of P. are as bad as ever; he is waiting with great

¹ The Faré lagoon, on which is the village of the same name, is on the western side of Huahine, the easternmost island of the Leeward group of the Society Islands.

² Captain William Campbell, formerly of the "Harrington," then of the "Favorite," and now of the "Hibernia," called in at Tahiti from some of the islands still farther to the East; he was on his way to Canton but intended to call at the Fiji islands, to pick up a cargo of sandalwood for the Chinese market.

The "Venus" was a small "Colonial schooner," of 20 tons and crew of three men, belonging to J. McArthur (H.R., N.S.W. v, 741).

³ Tearabu, properly Taiarapu, is the lesser, or S.E. peninsula of Tahiti.

⁴ Aimeo, more properly Aimeo (now commonly spelt Eimeo), is the same as Mo'orea Island.

anxiety the arrival of the Chiefs from these islands, and apparently not able to act on the offensive till then, and from their long delay it appears very doubtful whether they will give him any assistance before it be too late. Pomare and his people are forced by the famine in Aemeo to endeavour to keep their station at Pare in Taheete where there is at present abundance of food. Mr. Caw came down with Capt. C. as he was likely to starve at Aemeo; he is very miserable in his appearance, the natives having taken from him everything he had. Capt. C. gave him a shirt, pair of trowsers and jacket. As there is another small vessel from P. Jackson called the Cumberland expected daily at Taheete, there is great probability that it will be taken and the crew murdered; though P. is likely to do all he can to prevent it. We have heard that Mr. Berback and the Venus's crew were saved by the rebels only that they might be sacrificed to *Oro*¹ when an *Oroa* should happen that required a human sacrifice. The vessels are to make but a short stay here. They are to proceed to the Fejees, and from thence the Hibernia is to go to China and the schooner to P. Jackson. We understand that there were several letters on board the Venus, both for the Capt. and some of us, but they are all lost.

Wednesday, 18th. [Oct. 1809.] Held a meeting to consult about making application to Capt. C. for a passage to the Fejees. Agreed to send a deputation to the Capt. to enquire about his terms. The brethren nominated went on board and enquired of the Capt. He informed them that a few might get a passage in the schooner to P. Jackson, and that all of the Society with their property might have a passage in the "Hibernia" to the Fejees, but that she was under necessity of proceeding from thence to China, but that however there is much probability of one or more vessels being at the Fejees now. As to the expence he must consult, he said, with his officers. In the afternoon the Capt. came ashore and drank tea at Br. Henry's. He informed the brethren that the monthly expences of his vessel were near a thousand pounds² and that

¹ *Oro*, the war god of the Tahitians.

² £1000 a month seems a preposterous sum for a brig of 200 tons, with a crew mostly of lascars, to cost.

probably between one thing and another his vessel by giving us a passage would be detained near a fortnight which would be £500 expence, but should the time be less than 12 or 14 days he would deduct from that sum. The brethren thinking his demands too high expostulated with him, but to no purpose. They offered that we should find our own provision, to which he answered that provisions were no object to him as he had plenty on board, and that our passage and stowage of our property was but of small consideration. It was only the time¹.

The Captain went on board his vessel, and the brethren met again to discuss the subject. Objections were made to the expences, danger and inconveniences of a passage by the Fejees to P. Jackson, particularly as to the families, and nothing could be determined upon, though the majority appeared for agreeing to the Capt.'s terms. Late at night we broke up our meeting, after committing our cause to the Lord and praying for direction in the affair before us. Agreed to meet in the morning.

Thursday, 19. [Oct. 1809.] According to agreement, met again this morning, and at last resolved to acquaint the Capt. that we had agreed to his terms. The Capt. had yesterday as a way of serving us and himself, conveying our property from the Fejees and by that means greatly lessening our expences, proposed that we should take Br. Shelley's schooner in which Br. Hayward came down with us, and promised to find men to put her in repair, and navigate her to P. Jackson. This some of us thought would be much for our interest and would make our expences but comparatively trifling; but after mature consideration it was given up for the following reasons. First, the vessel is in such a bad condition as it can hardly be made fit for the voyage without giving it a new bottom altogether. 2ndly it was sent down here for the very purpose of bringing up Tapoa, &c., to Pomare's assistance; and to take her away and defeat the purposes of the Chiefs in this is

¹ The proposed call at Sandalwood Island was possibly only for the purpose of conveying the missionaries so far on the way to Port Jackson.

likely to be looked upon as a piece of treachery, as well as ingratitude to Pomare, our old friend and protector; and lastly, that she being on the other side of this island, it cannot well be brought round to Faré harbour without the knowledge and assistance of the natives, and it is more than probable that when they are acquainted with our intentions they will detain the vessel by force if not also take from us the little property we have, and that moreover if the other vessel expected from Port Jackson should escape the Taheetians and come down here she would be likely to be taken here or at Raeatea¹.

As for the great expences likely to be incurred by going the way of the Fejees, it appeared to a majority of us that there is no alternative for the better, no reasonable prospect that at a future period we should have our passage cheaper. We are in a part of the world where but very few vessels are likely to touch when the affairs of Taheete are known at P. Jackson; no vessels from thence will run the risk of coming to trade in these islands for pork, and no vessels are now to be expected from the Spanish coast of S. America. The only chance seems to be of vessels coming to the Pearl Islands², where Captain C. made some discoveries, and touching here in their way to the Fejees, and a passage in any of them, leaving out the uncertainty of their coming, will be as expensive as the present. As to the uncertainties and inconveniencies attending this passage, these meet us on every hand, so that out of many evils, we know not which to choose or which is the least. As to our reason for quitting these islands and giving up the Mission, we refer to our Journal of April 14th³. We may add here that since our meeting of April 14th nothing

¹ Should be Ra'iataea.

² The "Pearl Islands" here referred to are the Palliser cluster and adjoining atolls, in the Tuamotu group. There is a somewhat obscure reference (S.G. 386, of 25th May, 1811) to Captain Campbell's venture to this group after pearls, in which the "Venus," "Cyclops," and "Trial" took part. Some years earlier (1803) the "Margaret," captain and part owner John Buyers, the other owner being John Turnbull, was totally wrecked while pearl fishing thereabout.

³ Not printed. The reasons were that they felt they were no longer doing any good among the natives, and that they were no longer cared for by the Missionary Society.

has occurred to encourage our continuance in these islands in a missionary point of view; our prospect seems to be more and more gloomy. The state of Taheete is more unfavourable than it has been since the commencement of the war. There is but a small probability that Pomare will recover his authority, and in case the Chiefs of these islands should go up to his assistance as he expects and be defeated, the common people will be in arms everywhere, and we may expect nothing but anarchy and confusion, and Europeans, as favourers of the Chiefs, will be looked upon with an evil eye. We can hardly expect safety anywhere while we have any property left, and even our persons will be in great danger. But leaving the present state of the islands out of the question, we have no inducement whatever for the continuance of the Mission.. Our time is apparently spent in vain, answering no good purpose either to ourselves or those about us. No one appears desirous of instruction, And we must confess it that we have no heart to make further use of means. The families among us do not see it their duty to stay longer, and the single brethren have an additional argument from the case of Br. Nott¹ for laying hold of the first opportunity of escaping from a snare in which they are daily in danger of being taken, and we may add also that these two vessels lately from P. Jackson gave us no reason to think that the Directors of the Missionary Society trouble themselves much about us. We cannot help thinking from their not answering our letters, but that we are left to ourselves on purpose to see what will be the end or how we shall act. Our letters will not be answered; no correspondence will be kept up with us, and the Mission will not formally be given up by them; yet they pursue the very means, which they must know will lay us under a necessity, all circumstances considered, of giving it up. If we are too uncharitable in these thoughts and conclusions, it is more than we know at present, but should we hereafter be convinced by proper evidence that we are so, we shall not be backward to acknowledge our error. The Capt.

¹ Even Br. Nott, long the most successful of the missionaries, had been driven away from his post by the natives (*Hist. L.M.S.* 1, pp. 192-3).

was acquainted with our determination and began to prepare for our reception on board his vessel.

Friday, Octr. 20. [1809.] Began to prepare to go on board, but as secretly as we can for fear of the natives plundering our property. We have acquainted them with the intention of some to go in the vessel, but they cannot bear the idea of all going. It ought, however, to be well noticed that they do not desire the continuance of any of us because we are Christians, or because we are missionaries, but only because they are sensible they have some temporal advantages by our residence among them.

Sabbath. 22. [Oct. 1809.] Began the day as usual. In the forenoon Br. Eyre read a sermon of Rev. George Burders. In the afternoon Br. Henry read a part of Dr. Watherspoon's treatise. None from the vessel attended.

Monday, 23. [Oct. 1809.] We are ready to go on board, but the Capt. is not yet ready to sail; so he does not wait for us. Our intention is to lessen the expences in this respect as much as we can.

Tuesday, 24. [Oct. 1809.] Sent most of our things on board. The natives now understand we are going. They say they are very sorry for it. At the same time they steal all they can from us; many things were lost to-day.

Wednesday, 25. [Oct. 1809.] More of our things were sent on board, but the vessel not ready to sail; had orders to be on board in the morning. Mr. Caw was offered a passage with us, but told us he choose to stay behind.

Thursday, 26. [Oct. 1809.] About 10 a.m. embarked on board the "Hibernia." Br. Hayward took his leave of us and resolved to remain for the present at Huaheene. Sent us the following letter in which he gave us some of his reasons for so doing.

"Sir,

"As I intend to stop behind my brethren and the
"public must know of it, it might appear strange without
"giving my reasons for so doing, some of which are as
"follows. Capt. Campbell has promised me a passage on

“the little vessel, which is now expected to arrive here
 “every day, to the Colony. That will be direct, which I
 “prefer to that by way of the Fejees; but should my passage
 “cost more than the passage of an individual will from
 “the above mentioned place, I expect to answer for the
 “same myself. Likewise the Capt. has agreed to take of
 “me several hogs belonging to Br. Nott and myself, given
 “to us by the Chiefs when here in the ‘Paramatta,’ and
 “also several which are at the other islands. But should I
 “be disappointed in the little vessel, I intend to return to
 “Taheete and then wait Capt. C. return into these seas,
 “which is expected to be in the course of a few months,
 “and from thence to proceed, should it be the will of the
 “Lord, with him to the Colony.

“JAMES HAYWARD.”

“To Mr. DAVIES
 for the Society.”

In the afternoon we and the schooner were under weigh and got out of the harbour with a light breeze. As it was understood by the natives we were to touch at Raeatea or Borabora¹, some of them got on board with the intention of landing at one or other of the islands, and some of our boys with the intention of following us.

Friday, October 27. [1809.] About 6 a.m. we were abreast of Tubae, having past Borabora and the small islands that surround it. Tubae is a low island about 2 or 3 miles long, having abundance of cocoanuts but no settled inhabitants. About noon we were abreast of Maurua. The middle of it is a high rugged barren mountain. It has a border of low land containing cocoanuts, uru², &c. Some small islands also surround it which appear to be situated on the reef which is said to surround it. It is with the reef and the islands probably 10 or 12 miles circumference. Most of the brethren very sick, particularly Sister Eyre and Br. Tessier.

¹ Borabora, now usually written Porapora, as there is no “B” in the accepted alphabet of the Society and Georgian Islands.

² *Uru* is the breadfruit but is now more usually spoken of colloquially as *maiore*.

Saturday, October 28. [1809.] Weather unsettled, some heavy showers, Wind N. and N.E. About 11 a.m. passed Howes island or Mopeha. We did not see it until after we had passed it for some time when it was discovered from the mast-head. It is a low uninhabited island, and, according to accounts, abounds with turtle in the season.

Sabbath, 29. [Oct. 1809.] Had no public worship nor had we any since we came on board. Several are still continuing sick, especially Sister Eyre and Br. Tessier. The state of things is such that we cannot meet together for worship.

Monday, 30. [Oct. 1809.] Wind favourable. The vessel sails 4 and 5 knots an hour; yet she is much retarded by the schooner which our vessel is obliged to tow after her.

Tuesday, 31. [Octr. 1809.] Brethren nearly recovered, except the persons above named. There is but little wind to-day.

Thursday, 2. [Nov. 1809.] In the evening discovered Palmerston's islands, and as the Capt. intended to touch there he gave orders to lay off and on during the night.

Friday, 3. [Nov. 1809.] In the morning we were within a few miles of the N.E. most of the islands. The Capt. and some of the brethren landed on one of them and returned with a number of cocoanuts and sea birds which abound here and are quite tame, being seldom disturbed by man. The Capt. also found the *beech le mar* here which is a considerable article of trade in China. The islands are very erroneously described in the Gazeteers and their situation is not laid down correct. They are 9 in number and some of them of considerable extent, being several miles in circumference. The whole, with the connecting reef, is supposed by Capt. C. to take up a circumference of upwards of 40 miles. It would take several days to explore them, which probably was never done by any navigator. They abound with cocoanut and Fara trees¹. Steered our course direct to the W. ward.

Saturday, November 4. [1809.] Fine weather. The vessel sails at 5 knots an hour though much retarded by towing the schooner.

¹ The Fara tree (*balawa* of the Fijians) is the screw-pine (*Pandanus verus*), an important food-plant in many South Sea islands.

Sabbath, 5. [Nov. 1809.] The brethren did not think it convenient to have public worship. A fine S.E. breeze. The vessel sailing 6 knots an hour.

Tuesday, 7. [Nov. 1809.] Wind and weather as yesterday. We have passed Savage Island¹ considerable to the N. of it.

Wednesday, 8. [Nov. 1809.] A fine strong and favourable breeze. Some of the brethren indisposed.

Friday, 10. [Nov. 1809.] Discovered several of the Fejee islands, and in the evening land was seen right ahead of us, but at a considerable distance. The Capt. ordered the schooner² to sail before us in order to discover land or reefs, with instructions to make signals according to circumstances. Our vessel followed under an easy sail, so that the schooner might keep ahead of us.

Saturday, November 11th. [1809.] About half past ten last night we were suddenly alarmed with a cry on deck that we were almost on a reef³. Orders were given to put about the ship immediately; but before that could be done she struck repeatedly on a rock, but after a few minutes she got clear, and we stood to the eastward the way we had come. The schooner had by this time made signals of reefs being around us, and was standing in the same direction as ourselves; for a few minutes we flattered ourselves with a hope of escaping the danger and being again in a clear sea, when suddenly the vessel struck again with great violence, and after repeated strokes stuck fast on the reef, where there was no more than three or four feet water. Everything was now in disorder and confusion. We hailed the schooner, and ordered her to come to an anchor, which she soon did. Several means were used in order to get the "Hibernia" off the reef, but all in vain.

¹ Nieu.

² The schooner "Venus."

³ See the track of the "Hibernia" on Arrowsmith's chart. The "Hibernia," according to Captain Campbell (see p. 206 *post*), was only the second vessel known to have been on that side (*i.e.* the N.E. side) of the island; the "Perseverance" had been there before. It is not clear on what occasion the "Perseverance" had been there. The whole statement is however correct only in that the "Hibernia" and the "Perseverance" may have been the first to enter the Vanua Levu lagoon from the north side. The "Duff" had approached the island from the N.E. many years earlier.

The wind and sea increased, and the vessel began to roll from side to side, the helm broke, the rudder case was torn to pieces, and the rudder itself unshipped and was lost. The confusion on board was very great. The Moors, or Lascars, of which our crew chiefly consisted, were running below, every man to his chest or hammock, not regarding what would become of the vessel. However, by the exertions of the officers, particularly Mr. Folger, the first mate, they were brought to their duty. In the meantime the women and children, as might be expected, were in no small degree of terror and consternation. They had been alarmed in bed just as they had fallen asleep, and had come on deck when the first alarm was given (except Sister Eyre who was unable to come up). At this time the humanity and tenderness of the Capt. and officers ought not to be forgotten. They ordered the boats should be lowered down to take them on board the schooner as soon as possible. In the doing of this, one (a whale boat) was stove so as to become useless, but two others were got down safe. The officers then with very great difficulty and danger, owing to the darkness of the night, the increasing surf and rolling of the vessel, got them down to the boats; all the brethren also (except Br. Scott who staid on board) got down, but while waiting for one another were in imminent danger of being swamped and drowned, the boats having shipped several seas. However, by the mercy and goodness of the Lord, we reached the schooner in safety, tho' very wet, and most of us not having an article to change, nor anything but what we stood in at the time, and from the circumstances the Hibernia were in when we left her, we had but little ground to expect we should be able to save anything, but since we had our life for a prey, we thought, miserable as we were, that we had much cause for thankfulness and praise. Those on board the Hibernia as well as we on board the schooner waited the dawn of the morning with uncommon anxiety of mind, not knowing with what dangers we were surrounded; the darkness of the night, with the noise of the increasing surf on the reefs around us, continually adding to the horror of our prospect. The Capt. and

officers on board the brig did what they could to send provisions, water, and firearms, on board the schooner, as it was the general expectation that the brig would be broke to pieces with the rising of the tide. When the morning came, we saw ourselves surrounded with islands and reefs; and it was difficult to know how to extricate ourselves, and to our surprise we found that the schooner's cable had parted and that we were drifting towards one of the reefs. We immediately set sail and stood off and on where we were, as there seemed to be plenty of water there. The brig to appearance was the same as when we had left her. The rudder which had been lost was recovered but not shipped, and as the tide had arisen high, there were some hopes entertained of getting her off; but there were many fears, that as soon as she was in deep water, she would sink immediately. To prevent this, before the schooner and boat were near, an anchor was carried out on the reefs and signals of distress were made to hasten the boats. She was now beating terribly, and after several strokes the cable parted and she got off and was fairly afloat in deep water. Two pumps were kept going constantly, and after a while the water was lessening a little. Means were then used for shipping the rudder, which succeeded beyond expectation. Before this it was the Capt.'s intention to run ashore on the nearest land we could make. Happily no natives had as yet discovered us, for there was apparently no inhabited land near us. In the afternoon one pump was able to keep the water from increasing, and before night it was lessened from 5 to 1 foot. We steered to N.W., which seemed the only quarter where there was clear sea; resolved that during the night the schooner and brig should keep company and remain if possible in our present berth, not knowing what (was) a few miles before us.

Sabbath, November 12th. [1809.] In the morning we were nearly in the same place as yesterday evening, but the brig was a good way ahead of the schooner. To the S.W. of us there are two or three large islands. About 10 a.m. saw a canoe coming off from one of them; but after approaching us within a few miles, it hesitated a while and then returned

to the place whence it came. A little while after we discovered two others who approached without fear and most of the men came on board the brig who laid too for them as we wanted much to enquire about a passage out once more to the clear sea. They were found to be not Fejeans but natives of Tongatabu¹, and by their manner seemed well acquainted with ships.

They bartered some yams they had for beads and said they were going a-fishing and would call on us in the morning with fish. They represented it as most dangerous to proceed. Not knowing what to do nor whether we could put any confidence in their reports, we returned to the N.E. where we had past a small uninhabited island. Here we found anchorage, and resolved to anchor as near the shore as we could. Consequently both vessels anchored in 24 (feet?) water, just in the evening, after which the Capt. paid us a visit on board the brig, being sensible that our situation was very uncomfortable, which was really the case, so many being crowded together without hardly any shelter from sun or rain, nor scarcely a place to sleep or rest, and the women had already suffered much.

Monday, November 13th. [1809.] Continued at anchor off the little island; saw the two canoes that had gone a-fishing yesterday, but, instead of performing their promise of coming to us, they went over to another island, from whence apparently they had come. The Capt. and some of the brethren went ashore to get leaves, &c., for the goats on board. Found no grass, but variety of leaves and branches. Found many of the trees and plants common in the Society Islands, viz., breadfruit, fara, hutu, aeto, tamanu, tee and yam-fern, &c.²

Tuesday, November 14th. [1809.] The weather unsettled,

¹ That the sporadic invasion of the Fiji Islands from the Tongan Islands had begun before this is confirmed by many passages in Mariner's account.

² *Fara* is the screw-pine (*Pandanus verus*). *Hutu* is *Barringtonia speciosa*. *Aeto* is the reed (*Miscanthus sinensis*) so common in the islands. *Tamanu* in Tahitian is not the *damanu* of the Fijians, but the *ndilo* of the latter (*Calophyllum inophyllum*). *Tee* (it should be *ti*) is *Cordyline terminalis*. "Yam-fern" is difficult to identify; it perhaps refers to the wild yam, the leafy tendrils of which have a fern-like appearance.

dark and unfavourable as to our proceeding on our voyage or finding our way from hence. We therefore continued at anchor. Were visited by some canoes, and in them were some of our former visitors, but most of the people were Fejeans. They sold us some cocoanuts, taro¹ and plantains, for beads. We detained one Tongatabu man to be our pilot, but it was evidently much against his will. Sent boats to examine the reefs around us in order to find a passage out, that we might if possible proceed to Sandal Wood Bay to repair the vessel which was making much water.

Wednesday, November 15th. [1809.] Having yesterday examined the reefs and found a place to the N.W. where there were four fathom water on the reef, we got under weigh and made sail for the place, a boat going before us in order to direct our course, passed the reef without an accident. As we were passing the reef we saw several canoes making toward us, but when they saw us outside they returned towards the small island we had left. However, we lay to, in order to induce some of them to come to us, as we wanted direction very much, and the Tongatabu man on board wanted to go away. While we were here two of the canoes came up with us, and we got two of the Fejeans on board as guides, and dismissed the Tonga man with a present. As the canoes were returning, the Fejeans on board attempted to go away also, tho' they had promised to conduct us to Matuata², where they said the sandalwood is to be found, but they were watched so that they did not get away, and we made sail directly as there was a fine breeze. About 3 p.m. we approached a point of land which forms the north-eastern extremity of a very large island³ called Takaunove, or Sandalwood Island. Coasted along shore as near as we could to the reef, and in the evening saw a small opening in the reef, which

¹ Taro is Tahitian for the root of the aroid, which the Fijians call *adalo*.

² Matuata.

³ "The extremity of a very large island" was Undu Point, the north-eastern extremity of Vanua Levu, westward from which lies the "tract of land" mentioned under date of Nov. 16th.

It is impossible to identify all the reefs and passages mentioned, but they would appear to be those along the coast from Tilingitha and Mali or some point farther west.

the men on board said was the entrance into Matuata. We entered it without difficulty, and found there was deep water within the reef. After sailing some miles, came to anchor abreast of a small island under the apprehension the men had deceived us and that we were as yet far from the place we sought.

Thursday, November 16th. [1809.] The tract of land we coasted yesterday seems very thinly inhabited. It is in general hilly and uneven, some of it low, and apparently barren in comparison with Taheiti and the Society Islands. We saw a few canoes, but none of them came to us till we had cast anchor. Then two small ones approached with some degree of hesitation, having nothing on board but a few cocoanuts. From the appearance of things we judge food to be scarce, and what we have seen as yet of the Fejeans gives us no favourable opinion of them. They are certainly far inferior in civilisation to their neighbours to the eastward. They are nearly as ill looking as the Newhollanders. One of our Pilots escaped last night, and the other attempted to go away this morning, but as he had deceived us as to the place, we detained him; and about 7 a.m. got under weigh, and sailed with a gentle breeze to the westward, as the man was telling there was a passage to Matuata within the reef, but just as we were passing a point of the island under which we had anchored the schooner struck on a rock, but was soon got off by lighting her, without any material injury.

We now saw canoes coming towards us in great numbers from different directions, and ourselves hemmed in by reefs, where the man had assured us there was a good passage; and it was the opinion of almost everybody on board that we had been betrayed, and that we had been led to this dangerous place in consequence of a plan adopted by the Tongatabu and Fejee men yesterday, and that the man last night escaped on purpose to bring a number of canoes to attack us as soon as an opportunity offered. However, we providentially found an opening out to sea and got clear once more both of reef, and canoes. The man appeared confounded, and he was threatened with instant death when we found ourselves de-

ceived again by him. In the evening saw another opening into a place that appeared like a harbour, but it was too late to get in. We therefore stood out to sea during the night, and the vessel made a great deal of water, though the pump was constantly going.

Friday, November 17th. [1809.] Stood in again this morning for the harbour we discovered yesterday. The man said it was Matuata, and that there was plenty of water within, but the place of the sandalwood¹ was still farther on. Entered the harbour which was large and commodious; came to anchor near another small island. The reef is here many miles from the mainland, and there are a multitude of small islands within this large space of water. Most of them appear low and marshy, covered with a sort of mangrove. The shores of the mainland are also low and swampy. As we were coasting along we discovered some groves of cocoanuts and some breadfruit, also a few plantations of plantains. Our guide ran away, taking a garment of the Captain's with him.

Saturday, November 18th. [1809.] Last night and this morning we were visited by a few canoes who brought some cocoanuts to sell, but nothing else. They seem very hard and cunning in their dealings, more so than any of the islanders we have seen². Got under weigh and proceeded a little way, but as the sky was dark and the appearance of wind and rain, we again came to anchor near the mainland; past a small island before we anchored, which seems the most delightful spot we have seen on this coast. There seems to be plenty of cocoanuts on it and plantain plantations. Some heavy showers, with strong wind.

Sabbath, November 19th. [1809.] Having sent boats last evening to examine the passage before us, between the reef and mainland, and having understood there was a passage to proceed on our proper course, tho' a narrow and dangerous one, we weighed anchor and sailed again for Matuata, which place we discovered to be near, and at 2 p.m. we came to

¹ The "place of the sandalwood" would be Mbua Bay.

² The sandalwood traders had in many cases treated the natives with a heavy hand.

anchor off a small island, where several English and Americans had been formerly preparing their sandal wood. It is called Brown's Island¹ from an American of that name who resided on it while preparing a cargo for one of his Country vessels. Several natives and the Chief of the place came on board, but did not stay long. It is to be observed that all along the natives bring little or nothing for barter; either provisions are very scarce, or they are unwilling to part with any to serve us, though we offer them payment. As we were sailing between the reefs for the two or three days past, we have often passed close to canoes and fishermen who regarded us with the utmost indifference and carelessness as if they were always used to such sights. They hardly looked at us, but pursued their occupations as if entirely void of curiosity or fear. Most of those that came alongside to-day were perfectly naked. The Taheiteans on board our vessel despise them and say they are truly savages.

Monday, November 20th. [1809.] The little island close to which we anchored is uninhabited and several miles from the mainland. We determined to land our property and reside there while the vessel is repairing. The Chief was made acquainted with our intention, and said as the island was his we might reside there if we pleased. Several of the brethren went ashore to prepare a hut for our residence. The island is about half a mile in circumference², has several trees on it and some cocoanuts, with the leaves of which we intend to thatch our hut. The soil is sandy and dry, and the heat is very great to-day.

¹ The "Brown's Island" near which the "Hibernia" anchored was Kia, a few miles N.E. from Mathuata Island. There were a couple of old cannon high up on Kia, as if placed there for defence, until about a dozen years ago; and Kia is where the "reef is many miles from the mainland." It must be distinguished from the island [mentioned by Lockerby—see p. 60 *ante*] as having been taken possession of by Mr Brown, mate of the "Tonquin." Kia may have been temporarily occupied by the same or another Mr Brown, or perhaps by other American sandalwood or beche-de-mer traders. It is an attractive island, and there are plenty of coco-nuts on it. But it was usually inhabited, though, in 1809, it may still have been vacant in consequence of the massacre at Tavea, adjoining.

² It might be guessed as "half a mile" in circumference; and its soil is dry and sandy.

Tuesday, November 21st. [1809.] In the evening a boat arrived here from an American vessel which is at another part of the island called Maiambua, or Sandalwood Bay. The American is the Hope of New York, Capt. Chase¹. The officer and boat's crew staid on board all night. Some showers with a fine breeze.

Wednesday, November 22nd. [1809.] The Americans returned to their vessel. Began our hut on shore.

Thursday, November 23rd. [1809.] Finished our hut and had most of our property landed on the island as also things belonging to the ship. Brothers Scott, Wilson, Davies, and Tessier went on shore to sleep there. The heat is felt here more sensibly than even at Taheite.

Friday, November 24th. [1809.] Were visited by several canoes on shore. Encouraged them to bring taro, fish, cocoanuts, &c., for sale, as we shall soon be in much want of provision, the ship having but little to spare, and not bound to support us on shore. However, it is a mercy that we have some salt pork with us which we brought from Huaheene. It is of great use to us now. Heavy dew in the night and great heat in the day. The want of water in this island is a great inconvenience to us.

Saturday, November 25th. [1809.] Br. Henry and family and Br. Eyre and wife came on shore. Mr. Elder and wife are still on board. Weather very warm the former part of every day, and the afternoon there is generally rain on the mainland which sometimes reaches us. The shore of the mainland opposite to us is swampy and apparently unhealthy, and it is difficult in most places to land at low water. The

¹ The "Hope's" boat would be more likely to visit Ngaloa than Kia, if sandalwood was the object, on her way towards Mathuata Bay. The position of Brown's Island is given as lat. $16^{\circ} 32' S.$, long. $177^{\circ} 32' E.$; and that of the anchorage in Mbua Bay as lat. $16^{\circ} 45' S.$, long. $177^{\circ} 29' E.$ Although the true longitude of Mbua anchorage is more than 1° farther east, these figures indicate a difference of only 3' or miles between Mbua anchorage and Brown's Island, which is much more nearly correct for Ngaloa than it would be for Kia; and the low, marshy islands mentioned (which are really mangrove bushes growing on sandy reefs and patches and banks, many of which are submerged at high tide) are nearer to Ngaloa than to Kia.

shores are so soft and muddy¹. The little island where we are seems healthy.

Sabbath 26th. [Nov. 1809.] Since we came ashore we have enjoyed our social and family worship without interruption, which we did not, nor could do, on board the ship. Began the day in our usual manner with a prayer meeting; met again in the forenoon, and Br. Davies engaged, read a sermon of Dr. Martin's on Heb. 13. 5. In the afternoon Br. Eyre engaged and read one of Revd. Mr. Burder's Village Sermons. Felt in some degree thankful for the privileges enjoyed this day, though the sight of, and the noise of the Hibernia's people at work gave us some disturbance. None of them came near our worship.

Monday, November 27th. [1809.] A number of canoes visited the island. They behaved peaceably, but brought nothing to sell. We think it necessary to keep a good look out and a regular watch every night. The boat came again from the American vessel. Capt. Campbell went in her with the intention of conducting them to this place. Br. Warner accompanied Capt. C. Some rain and much lightning every night.

Tuesday, November 28th. [1809.] Heavy showers most of the day. Gathered all the rain water we could for the purpose of washing, &c. We are under the necessity of being economical with our water as it is to be fetched from a great distance.

In the afternoon the Hope, Capt. Chase, arrived and anchored near our island, which we think will be conducive to our safety.

Wednesday, November 29th. [1809.] Brother Warner obtained the promise of a free passage to China in the Hope. Capt. Campbell had before promised a passage to India or China in the Hibernia from the Fejees, but, as she is now probably unfit to proceed according to her original destination, he made application to the American. His passage from

¹ The shore opposite Ngaloa is much as Br. Davies describes it—swampy, soft and muddy, and difficult to land at, at most places, when the tide is out.

Huaheine to the Fejees is included in our agreement with Capt. Campbell, as also the passage of Brother Hayward.

Thursday, November 30th. [1809.] Remarkably hot and sultry in the morning; in the afternoon some rain. Several Fejeans visited us, but brought very little to sell. We are now living upon a small quantity of rice we brought with us from Huaheine, but which will soon be expended, and it is probable we shall be in want. We therefore made application to the American Capt. for some flour, but he gave us for answer that he could not spare any till he knew whether he could obtain his cargo¹.

Friday, December 1st. [1809.] Made application to Capt. Campbell for some tea and sugar. Got from him 12 lb. of tea at 12s. 6d. per lb., and 55 lb. of sugar at 2d. per lb. Divided it into equal shares and sent Br. Elder his division on board.

Saturday, December 2nd. [1809.] Most of the things belonging to the *Hibernia* are sent ashore that she may be hove down close to the island.

Sabbath, December 3rd. [1809.] Began the day as usual. In the forenoon Br. Henry read one of Dr. Martin's sermons on Gen. 24. 63, and in the afternoon Br. Scott read a part of Wittins on the Covenants.

Monday, December 4th. [1809.] By the assistance of the Americans the vessel was partly hove down. She does not appear to have received that damage that was expected. The American ship carpenter has engaged to repair her.

Tuesday, December 5th. [1809.] Several Fejeans visited us. Brought a considerable quantity of taro and fish. The heat very great the former part of the day.

Wednesday, December 6th. [1809.] It begins to be very doubtful whether our vessel shall obtain a cargo or not. The sandal wood seems to be nearly expended about here. Heavy rain.

Thursday, December 7th. [1809.] Several Fejeans visited

¹ Sandalwood was already so scarce that Captain Chase in the end got none; and though the "Hibernia" next arrived at Port Jackson with "four tons of sandalwood" (H.R., N.S.W. VII, 325), this had probably been procured from some of the eastern islands before Fiji was reached.

us selling some taro, &c. at a very dear rate. Yet by this we through mercy have been kept hitherto from want.

Friday, December 8th. [1809.] Weather dry and warm, much lightning during the night.

Saturday, December 9th. [1809.] No sandal wood is brought as yet, and there is talk of war among the several chiefs of this part of Takaunove.

Sabbath, December 10th. [1809.] Began the day as usual. In the forenoon Capt. Chase came ashore with Brother Warner who has been for sometime on board the American. Captains Chase and Campbell attended service. Br. Eyre engaged and read Revd. Mr. Burder's sermon on Matt. 16. 26. In the afternoon Br. Tessier engaged and read Dr. Martin's sermon on 1. Cor. 13. 34.

Monday, December 11th. [1809.] Had from Capt. Campbell 41 lb. of soap at 3s. 6d. per lb. and sold to him for the use of the schooner the cabuse purchased from Kierumyaard of the Perseverance for the same price as we had given, viz., £8. It was taken to the schooner, but dropt to the sea and lost as they were hoisting it up.

Tuesday, December 12th. [1809.] Capt. C. has warned us that it is his intention to go to China in company with Capt. Chase and that we must take our passage in the schooner. This caused much uneasiness to some of the brethren, as the schooner has no accomodation especially for families, and being also out of repair and very small at best. Mr. and Mrs. Elder have now come, but they keep at a distance from us. Warm weather.

Wednesday, December 13th. [1809.] The Fejeans do not now bring much for barter, so that our stock of provisions begins to be very small. They brought a fine turtle to-day and sold it for a sow as they are very desirous of increasing their breed of hogs. It seems that the few hogs¹ and poultry which they have here were from ships.

Thursday, December 14th. [1809.] To-day a Tongatabuan brought from Vavau in the American came ashore where we

¹ Many pigs must have been used up during the recent fighting and corresponding feasting.

are, and retired to a place in the bush to perform upon himself an operation which appears to us most strange, and shockingly barbarous¹. The man, whose name is Fenou, had exerted himself very much for the American interest in the business of the sandal wood, acting as their interpreter to the Fejeans. He had been eating and drinking with them since he came here, and finding himself unwell for some days past, he fancies that he has been bewitched, and therefore came ashore accompanied by another Tongatabu man, in order to perform the following operation in order to cure his head ache, &c., arising from the charms and enchantments of the Fejeans. He took a piece of dry reed, fastening to one end of it a string made of the bark of some tree. This reed he put up the urethra with the intention of forcing it out below the scrotum. The reed being too large tore the passage shockingly, and the string was loosened so that he was under necessity of taking it out in order to fasten it again. It was by himself, with the assistance of the other Tongatabuan, put up again, and at last forced out at the place above men-

¹ Finau is the correct form of the family name of the ruling Chief of Vavau. The operation above mentioned was what the Fijians call *thoka losi* (from *thoka*, "to pierce," and *losi*, the native name of a wild fig-tree—*Ficus Barclayi*). It has been described by the former Chief Medical Officer of Fiji (Mr Corney) in the *Reports* of the Australasian Association for the Advancement of Science for 1890 (p. 686). Surgically speaking, it would be called "external urethrotomy."

Mr Corney tells me that "healing is surprisingly speedy and certain in the great majority of cases; he has known men who underwent this treatment three, four, and in one instance seven times, with intense satisfaction to themselves—though in old and weakly subjects several fatalities have been recorded. The then Native Commissioner being strongly opposed to the practice of *coka losi*, Sir John Thurston, when Governor of Fiji, caused a Native Regulation to be drafted for the prohibition of the practice; but when it came before the Board which decides on Native Regulations—some of the members of which are natives of high rank—such was the indignation and chagrin of all the native members at the prospect of being deprived of their pet privilege that they openly declared that the regulation, if passed, would be inoperative, as it could not deter the natives from the practice. In the end Sir John insisted on passing the regulation, but divested it of the penalty clause; and it has remained a dead letter."

Mariner (II, 254, of the 1817 edition) describes the operation, under the name of *tocolo' si*, as he saw it performed in Tonga; and he says (p. 242) that the Tongans adopted this, as almost all their other surgical operations, from the Fijians.

tioned. The reed was then taken out, but the string was left in for the greatest part of the day, but taken out in the evening. It is said that this operation is common among the Friendly Islanders and Fejeans. Very warm weather.

Friday, December 15th. [1809.] Provisions very scarce with us as there is nothing hardly brought for sale.

Saturday, December 16th. [1809.] The Hibernia's people are getting on very slow in repairing the vessel. They have got no sandal wood as yet. The Americans have been more successful, for they spare no exertion on their part.

Sabbath, December 17th. [1809.] Began the day as usual. In the forenoon Br. Henry engaged and read Dr. Dodderidge sermon on the one thing needful. Capt. Chase present. In the afternoon Br. Eyre read one of Mr. Burder's sermons.

Monday, December 18th. [1809.] The man mentioned on Thursday is still ashore. He is very feverish and unwell, but the Americans pay much attention to him.

Tuesday, December 19th. [1809.] Capt. Campbell has sent the schooner to get sandal. When laden, it is said, she is to proceed to Port Jackson.

Wednesday, December 20th. [1809.] The Fejeans brought a quantity of taro, uru and cocoanuts to sell. It is very hard to deal with them, and we are destitute of proper articles of barter. We have bought what we had hitherto very dear, chiefly for pieces of Taheitean cloth. We had also a few tohes¹ made by Br. Scott out of a little iron we had.

Thursday, December 21st. [1809.] The Tongatabuan seems to be a little better. Warm weather, but a fine breeze.

Friday, December 22nd. [1809.] No remarkable occurrence.

Saturday, December 23rd. [1809.] A number of Fejeans from different parts visited us. They brought some taro and cocoanuts for sale; but it is very difficult to deal with them. They also now embrace every opportunity to steal from us. They have great curiosity to see our women². They have several times offered to buy them for a quantity of sandal wood or

¹ *Tohes* [*Togi* of Tongans], *i.e.* adzes or axes.

² These ladies must really have been the "first white women in Fiji."

else exchange them for some of their own. These things make it necessary to keep them at as much distance as circumstances will allow. They would, no doubt, if they could seize our women and take them. They are very particular in respect to their own females, and very jealous of them. Few of them visit us, but none of them are allowed to go on board a ship, nor to have any familiarity with the seamen. We understand that polygamy is common here among the Chiefs, if not among the common people.

Sabbath, December 24th. [1809.] Began the day as usual. In the forenoon Br. Eyre engaged and read Mr. Burder's sermon on Luke 2. 15., and in the afternoon Br. Henry a sermon of the same on Phil. 3. 8. Every Sabbath, work is carried on around us both by the English and Americans, and we are sometimes much disturbed in our worship by them, tho' we see it our duty at present to bear it in silence.

Monday, December 25th. [1809.] No remarkable occurrence. The Tongatabuan continues unwell.

Tuesday, December 26th. [1809.] Were visited by some Fejee canoes with cocoanuts which they sold very dear. Our provisions, except pork, are nearly expended, and we can get nothing to buy at present. In a few days it will be hard with us if the Fejeans will not bring some taro or yams. The Hibernia can spare us nothing, having but little for themselves, and the men have been for sometime on half allowance and less. The Americans have plenty of provisions, but as they have but little prospect of getting a cargo of sandal-wood, they are not willing to part with any. Our pork has been dry salted for want of proper casks to hold pickle, and is now getting rusty, so that we can hardly eat it; it is well however we have it; it has already saved the Missionary Society a considerable expence, for in case we had none we must have been buying of Capt. C. at a very dear rate. Weather very dry and hot here these days.

Wednesday, December 27th. [1809.] A Feje¹ canoe brought a considerable quantity of yams for sale which was to us a very seasonable supply, tho' we paid dearly. The yam is just

¹ This is the first time Br. Davies writes *Feje* instead of *Fejee*. See p. 150 *post*.

beginning to be in season, and therefore there is a probability that the people will bring more, but the Fejeans know how to sell them. They are more artful and hard in their dealings than any of the South Sea islanders we have known. They will not give gratis the smallest trifle, and yet are constantly asking us for everything almost they see, and say we are *Sa ambati kandi*¹ or ungenerous, because we do not in everything comply with their demands. Often they have sold us a couple of cocoa nuts for a good fish hook, and then came and asked us one of them to drink themselves. Some days ago, they brought for sale some pumpkins and pineapples. These they had from ships touching here and now cultivate with some care. Like the Taheiteans, they have given the pineapple the same name as the Pandanus, By them it is called *Sa ambalawa*², but by the Taheiteans *Fara*. The shad-dock grows spontaneously in the Feje islands and is called in some of the islands *More*³, in others *Mole*.

Thursday, December 28th. [1809.] It is reported that the Fejeans have formed a plan of coming upon us in the night for the purpose of killing us, but seizing the women and property. The American Capt. hearing of this humanely offered to do anything in his power for us, and said his ship and guns were at our service. In the evening it was thought proper to send the females on board the American vessel. We doubled our watch and set it at that point of the island farthest from the ships. Capt. Campbell appointed a watch on shore, for hitherto watching on the island had entirely evolved upon us. Fine weather.

Friday, December 29th. [1809.] In the morning were visited by a few Feje canoes who sold us some breadfruit. They appeared very shy and timid. They belonged to a part of the mainland opposite to us called *Tupu*⁴, at which place we understand there is a great assembly of natives from different parts, but what is the design of their meeting we know not. In the afternoon we were rather alarmed by the sight of a

¹ *sa mbati kandi* (not *ambati*) means "grasping."

² Not *sa* but *na mbalawa* would be the screw-pine or Pandanus.

³ *Moli* or *mori*, with interchangeable *r* and *l*.

⁴ *Tupu* is probably intended for *Lekutu*; see p. 59 note 3, and p. 151.

fleet of 15 canoes, making towards us from the westward, but after coming within a few miles of the island half of them bore away to the S.E., the rest came to us. The first canoes that landed were chiefly women, who were at first very shy, but when the other canoes came up several of the men boldly landed, and were followed by most on board the several canoes. We found they had come just to satisfy their curiosity. They told us they were strangers belonging to an island to the westward called Anganga, or Angana¹. They had on board the canoes a number of new jars which they were taking over to Takaunove to sell. On examining their canoes, we found they all had arms, great bundles of bows and arrows with clubs of various kinds, but probably these were for their own protection, for these islanders hardly ever go without arms of some kind or other. It is strange to us that a branch of pottery should be known to the Fejeans while they are so barbarous and uncivilized, and so very far inferior to their eastern neighbours in respect of building, cloathing, &c., Some of the jars we bought to-day for curiosity sake. They are not glassed and too thin and porous to hold liquids; but they answer their purpose of stewing their victuals in them. Some of them are very large, but all we have seen of one pattern². We have not had an opportunity of seeing them made, but from accounts we have received it appears that the clay is worked, and the vessel formed with the hand without the help of a machine. They are dried in the sun, and afterwards baked. Our women in the evening went on board the American to sleep, except Mrs. Elder, who keeps at a distance from us, both her and her husband.

Saturday, December 30th. [1809.] The American carpenter has finished his work in repairing the Hibernia, and we suppose she will be soon ready for sea, and must go

¹ Anganga or Angana is the island of Yanganga; the natives often omit the Y sound in such words, e.g. *angona* instead of *yangona* (*kava*).

² The Fijians are the only makers of pottery in the Central Pacific islands. It is the more difficult to suggest whence the art came to them in that the very fanciful forms which they very commonly made—they no longer make these—are not found elsewhere.

to Port Jackson as the provisions are nearly expended, and no prospect of getting a cargo here.

Sabbath, December 31st. [1809.] Began the day as usual. In the morning Br. Eyre engaged and read one of the village sermons. In the afternoon read another. Thus are we brought to the close of another year, a year in which we experienced many trials and difficulties and many mercies and deliverances. May the Lord make us thankful, and may we have repentance on account of our ingratitude, unprofitableness and sinfulness, and may we be prepared for the trials and difficulties of the ensuing year if it is the Lord's will we should enjoy it.

Monday, January the 1st, 1810. We are still kept in a degree of alarm by the Fejeans, as they are gathering together in our neighbourhood on the mainland, but whether they have in reality any design against us is hard to tell. At night we discover lights on shore and hear the conch shells blowing, which we know are used in war. Our women and children as before on board the American. The Hibernia is nearly ready for sea.

Tuesday, January 2nd. [1810.] Yesterday we have divided some articles of medicines, &c., that had been left as public property. Previous to this the brethren had agreed in order to serve Br. Warner that he should have a set of the surgical instruments in our possession. Accordingly he had the amputating, dissecting, trepanning, cupping, teeth drawing and midwifery instruments, besides several other small articles. All that we have left behind are but of a little value, as they are in a spoiling state, except a case containing the apparatus for restoring suspended animation.

Wednesday, January 3rd. [1810.] The Hibernia it is said will sail in a few days, and the schooner will be left here to get sandal wood. The Capt. talks now about getting provisions at Norfolk Island and return here again in order to proceed to China.

Thursday, January 4th. [1810.] The Fejeans bring very little to sell, so that we have but very little to eat.

Friday, January 5th. [1810.] Agreed with Capt. C. to take

us to Norfolk Island for £150 and for the same sum from thence to Port Jackson in case he should proceed, which is yet uncertain.

Saturday, January 6th. [1810.] Took our property on board the Hibernia, and in the evening all the brothers embarked, except Mr. and Mrs. Elder who are still on shore with the Capt.

Sabbath, January 7th. [1810.] Staid on board, but had no convenience for our usual worship. Weather very warm.

Monday, January 8th. [1810.] Two of the Lascars who had run away on Friday were found to-day and brought on board and punished. Gentle rain most of the day.

Tuesday, January 9th. [1810.] Sent a letter for Dr. Mason of New York by Capt. Chase of the Hope, giving a short account of our circumstances and the reasons of our quitting Taheite and the Society islands. Gave Br. Warner also another to be delivered to our brethren the Baptist Missionaries in India, the same in substance as Dr. Mason's, and as what we intend to send to the Directors of the Missionary Society. Capt. Campbell together with Mr. and Mrs. Elder came aboard about 11 a.m. we weighed anchor and sailed to the eastward with a gentle breeze, our course the way we came in, between the reef and mainland. In the evening we dropped anchor. No natives visited us, tho' we saw several fishing on the reef.

Wednesday, January 10th. [1810.] In the morning weighed again and sailed a few miles to the eastward, but the wind dying away we were in the evening obliged to anchor within a little of the place we anchored last night. Several Fejee canoes visited us with cocoanuts.

Thursday, January 11th. [1810.] Got under weigh in the morning and sailed a few miles to the Northward where the natives directed us to an opening in the reef, found a large opening, but there was no wind to carry us out; anchored near the reef.

A few canoes visited us the fore part of the day, bringing taro and cocoanuts, but as we are now a great way from the mainland, probably we will see no more of them. There is a strong current running thro' this opening.

Friday, January 12th. [1810.] Got up the anchor and with some difficulty got outside of the reef, but as there was but little wind we made but a very small progress thro' the day. In the evening we were in a very dangerous situation, the current carrying us towards the reef, and no wind to take us anywhere.

Saturday, January 13th. [1810.] Spent an uneasy night, being full of anxiety and fear, but we were mercifully preserved. A little wind from the land sprung up and carried us some distance from the reef, otherwise we could have looked for nothing but destruction. Made but little progress thro' the day, and in the evening were not much better situated than last night.

Sabbath, January 14th. [1810.] Passed another night in much anxiety about our safety. No wind hardly this day, but a heavy swell which made several of us sick.

Monday, January 15th. [1810.] Last night a breeze sprang up from the westward which took us many miles to the north of the reef so that we had but little cause to fear. However we make no progress scarcely to the westward.

Tuesday, January 16th. [1810.] In much the same situation as yesterday, some squalls, and heavy rain.

Wednesday, January 17th. [1810.] The lands and reefs still in sight. We are at present in a very awkward situation, for we can gain nothing to the westward and our provisions are nearly expended.

Thursday, January 18th. [1810.] In the same situation as yesterday, we gained only a few miles, wind not fair.

Friday, January 19th. [1810.] We are now abreast of the North Westernmost of the Fejee islands¹. These are about ten in number and stand in a range in a N.E. and S.W. direction, two or three of them are pretty large, and are probably fertile and inhabited, the others are small, and some of them barren rocks. As yet we have seen no people nor canoes tho' we have been pretty near the land.

¹ The Yasawa Islands, where Captain Bligh was chased by the natives —and apparently those to which Captain Christopher Bentley of the "Ann and Hope" in 1800 gave the remarkable name of "the Land of Liberty." [See Stevens' "Oriental Navigator," 1808; pp. 703-4.]

Saturday, January 20th. [1810.] Just in the same situation as yesterday, no wind to take us on. We see no people, nor do we know the names of these islands.

Sabbath, January 21st. [1810.] Squally with some rain, but still we are unable to weather the islands and too far from shore to have any intercourse with the people, if there be any.

Monday, January 22nd. [1810.] The wind last night came round to the South East, so that it is now favourable. In the afternoon lost sight of all the Feje islands.

Tuesday, January 23rd. [1810.] Wind continuing favourable. We are sailing at the rate of six miles an hour. We have now left the Feje islands, and it will probably be expected we should make some observations¹ on them and their inhabitants:

The word Feje (not Feejee) seems to be the name of the people and not of the islands². They call themselves Feje and Kai Feje or Fede and sometimes Kaipeti. This group contains a great number of islands, most of them inhabited, some small, but several very large. According to the account of the natives several of their islands have not been seen by Europeans. The principal of those we have seen, or heard the names of, are the following: Takaunove, Ambau, Vanegele, Labe, Loutala, Kamea, Angana, Lageba, Fetoa, Kabala, Ono, Ongea, Atata, Fanuaparau, Fanua vatu, Vatu vala, Kanatea, Munea, Neau, Jegobea, Namuga, Tuputu, Funatafeune, Jejea, Oneata, Fulanga, Aeva, Kamo, &c.³

¹ Gathered presumably from Captain Campbell or his officers and crew.

² *Kai Viti* is the correct name for the people, the Fijians; or *Lewe ni Viti*, which means the same thing, lit. "people of Viti." "Fiji" is only a dialectic version of "Viti"; Viti or Fiji—with all the *i* sounds short—is perhaps the nearest approximation to the true pronunciation.

³ The islands here mentioned seem to be as follows—column 1, John Davies's name; column 2, the name as now accepted:

Takaunove	... Thakaundrove	Labe	... Rambi
Ambau ^a	... Mbau or Navitilevu	Loutala	... Lauthala
Vanegele	... (Ngele Levu?)	Kamea	... Ngamia

^a It has elsewhere been noted that the name Ambau (Mbau), which really pertains to a tiny but important islet closely adjoining the eastern coast of Viti levu, was commonly believed, by the earlier visitors to Sandalwood Island (Vanua levu), to cover the whole of the very large island of Viti levu (Navitilevu).

The largest of all the islands are Takaunove and Ambau or Bau¹, but which of the two is the largest is not known, nor is it known how large either of them. Takaunove is some hundred miles in circumference. Most of the Islands if not all are inclosed with reefs and the navigation among them is most intricate and dangerous. Sandal wood Bay in Takaunove is in Lat. $16^{\circ} 45''$ S. and Long. $177^{\circ} 29''$ E.: Brown's Island in Matuata Bay Lat. $16^{\circ} 32''$ S. and Long. $177^{\circ} 32''$ E.²

The produce of the islands appears, in general, to be the same as the Society Islands, viz., cocoanuts, breadfruit, plantains, yams, taro, shaddocks, ve apple, akea apple, chesnuts, candlenuts, aeto, hutu, purau, turmeric, ginger, te, pandanus, sugar cane, &c., with addition of a thorn not known in the above mentioned, and several other trees and plants³.

Some of the islands are low, and none of them remarkably

Angana	... Yanganga	Munea	... Munia
Lageba	... Lakemba	Neau	... Ngau (=Nayau)
Fetoa	... Vatoa (Turtle Isd.)	Jegobea	... Thikombia
Kabala	... Kambara	Namuga	... Namuka
Ono	... Ono	Tuputu ^b	...
Ongea	... Ongea	Funatafeune	... Vuna (Taveuni)
Atata	... Yathata	Jejea	... Thithia
Fanuaparau	... Vanua Mbalavu	Oneata	... Oneata
Fanua vatu	... Vanua vatu	Fulanga	... Fulanga
Vatu vala	... Vatu vara	Aeva ^c	...
Kanatea	... Kanathea	Kamo	... (Komo?)

^b The place name Tuputu, perhaps also the name Tupu used by Br. Davies, seems in some way connected with the name of the Lekutu river; there is no island of the name, but the island of Tavea, of which Davies's informants are certain to have spoken, lies close to the mouth of the Lekutu river.

^c All efforts to identify the island called Aeva have failed.

¹ Another instance of Viti Levu masquerading under the name of Mbau.

² The true position of Sandalwood Bay at the anchorage (quoted in the journal as $16^{\circ} 45'$ S., long. $177^{\circ} 29'$ E.) is lat. $16^{\circ} 50'$ S., long. $178^{\circ} 36'$ E.

³ The vegetable products here enumerated as to which there can be any doubt are as follows:

ve apple (the Fijian *wi*, Tahitian *vi*) is *Spondias dulcis*.

akea, apple, is the Fijian *kavika* (*Eugenia Malaccensis*).

aeto (the reed) is *Misanthus sinensis*.

hutu is either the Fijian *vutu* or Fijian *vutu kana* (respectively *Barringtonia speciosa* and *B. edulis*).

purau (*vau* of Fijians) is *Hibiscus tiliaceus*.

The "thorn not known in the Society Islands" is perhaps the *wa ngandrongandro* of the Fijians ("wild raspberry" of the Colonists)—*Rubus tiliaceus*.

high. Some have a fruitful appearance, others barren and unpromising.

The Fejeans in their complexion differ considerably from the Society and Friendly islanders, Marquesans, Owhyheeans, Parata¹, Auura, and New Zealanders. Their colour is dirty black like the New Hollanders. As to stature they are much the same as their neighbours to the eastward, but their features in general, men and women, are coarser and more disagreeable. They go almost perfectly naked, tho' they wear a sort of girdle called mose² that is something like the maro of Taheite. The women also wear a girdle with fringes hanging to it. Yet in both sexes the covering hardly answers the purpose of decency, even according to the idea formed of it by their eastern neighbours. Like the Friendly islanders, scarcely a man or a woman can be seen but one or both little fingers cut off, and some have the little toes of their feet cut off in like manner. This is done on account of the death of a Chief or near relation. They wear ornaments about their necks and arms, and in their ears, which have got monstrous holes in them. They generally suspend a shell or a piece of a bone to a string tied around the neck. They are very fond of beads, but above all of whale's teeth, which hitherto have been the principal of the articles for which they sell their sandal wood. These ornaments are common to both sexes, and they often in addition to the things above mentioned, besmear the whole body with turmeric and oil, and particularly bestow vast pains upon their hair, in powdering and dressing it according to various patterns. They powder their heads with something white like lime, probably the ashes of some plants or shells. Their hair in general is very coarse and thick, and their beards the same. Their heads and bodies are commonly very dirty.

Their canoes are of the same construction as those of the

¹ Parata seems to stand for Verata, a district of Viti Levu just north of Mbau where, at the beginning of the last century, dwelt a tribe which was as powerful, perhaps more so, than any of the others in that large island; consequently Davies seems to use Parata (or Verata) as the equivalent of Navitilevu. Auura has not been identified.

² Mosé is the waist cloth of *tapa* (native cloth) or the *maro*.

Friendly islands but smaller¹. They are well contrived for sailing, but will not do for rowing or paddling any length of way.

Their houses are of a peculiar construction. They first put in the ground four posts, forming a square of generally 12 or 13 feet by 9 or 10, sometimes less, sometimes more. These posts are 4 or 5 feet in height above the ground, and to them are fastened four horizontal pieces, reaching from one to the other. When this is done, long and slender stakes are driven into the ground all around outside of the horizontal pieces above mentioned, these are tied to the horizontal before fastened to the posts, and several others are fastened to these stakes, and this makes the frame of the building very firm. At the top, which commonly is 8 or 10 feet high, these stakes are brought together and fastened to a ridge piece, which is laid the longest way of the square. When the frame is finished it is thatched thick from bottom to top with the leaves of reeds or grass in a neat manner and very thick, leaving in some houses two, in others three, holes to serve for doors. These doors are about $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet high and 2 feet wide, for they crawl into their houses on all fours.

These houses are very strong and so close that neither wind nor rain can enter them, but they seem better calculated for the climate of Lapland or Greenland than for the Fejes in Latitude 16° , and where the heat is often at 95° and 96° of Fahrenheit's thermometer in the shade.

These houses are dark and dismal within and as black in the top as a chimney, for they generally cook their victuals in them. In the middle of the house are placed a number of stones and four or five jars, under which fire is made. These jars are placed on the broadside, and their taro, yam, bread fruit, and sometimes fish are put in them to stew, having thrown a little water on the things and put a stopper of grass in the mouth of the vessel; this is the common way of cooking, when there is no human flesh to be dressed.

¹ The Tongans admit that they learned the art of canoe building, especially large war canoes, from the Fijians. The missionaries from the "Hibernia" evidently only saw moderately sized or small canoes—and small houses. They were never in touch with a Fijian town or village.

The Fejeans are probably the most noted cannibals existing¹. All their islands seem to be divided between petty Chiefs who are constantly at war with one another, and whenever a man can kill his enemy he will eat him; and sometimes hundreds are cut up and baked in ovens at the same time, to make a grand feast. They bake the human flesh in the same manner the Taheiteans bake their pork.

Their weapons for war are bows and arrows², clubs of various sizes and kinds and long spears. There is hardly a canoe to be seen without them, war being so frequent among them.

The Fejeans have one General Language that prevails thro' all the group, but there are several dialects or varieties of pronunciation. The Windward islands have borrowed many words from their neighbours the Friendly islanders, but the main part of the language has no affinity with the Taheitean, Marquesan, Owyheeans, Parata³, New Zealand or any other known dialect of the common South Sea Language as may be partly seen from the following specimens⁴:-

¹ The Fijians' reputation as cannibals has been much exaggerated; but this subject is dealt with elsewhere.

² Here is further evidence that the bow and arrow were used in warfare by the Fijians (see pp. 22, 41, 42, notes).

³ Here "Parata" is used of the western as opposed to the eastern Fiji islands.

⁴ Mr Glanvill Corney has kindly supplied the following elucidation of John Davies's somewhat confused vocabulary:

<i>"Fejean"</i>	<i>True Fijian</i>	<i>Tahitian</i>	<i>English</i>
ame	Yame	arero	Tongue
ambalava	balawa	fara	Pandanus
ankona	yanqona	'ava	Piper methysticum
alapo	kalavo	iore	Rat
belo	mbilo	ipu	Bowl
bedu	mbitu	ohi	Bamboo
nogonogo	nokonoko	toa	Casuarina tree
leva	yalewa	vahine	Woman
lava	lawa		Net
lale	lali		Drum
loge	(toki?)	ofai (stone)	Axe
longa	lonqa (bed place)	moea	Mat
puka	mbuka (fire-wood)		
kalau	kalou	atua	A spirit
senga	senga, sengai	aima	No (i.e. the negative)
sangole	sa nqoli (to fish on the sea)	i'a (fish)	
ranegae	ndrau ni kai	ti	
turanga	turanga	arii	Chief
vosa	vosavosa	parau and paraparau	Speech

<i>Fejean.</i>	<i>Taheitean.</i>
Ame	Erero The tongue [at Tongatabu, Elelo.]
Ambalava ...	Fava The Pandanus. [Owhyhei, Fara; Marquesas, Fa'a.]
Ankona	Ava The pepper plant. [Tong., kava; Marq., kava; Owhy., kava.]
Alapo	Ecore A rat. [New Zealand, kaeore; Marq., Kaeore.]
Belo.....	Aebu A cup or dish. [Tong., Aebu; Marq., Aebu; Owy., Aebu.]
Bedu	Ohe The Bambu. [Tong., Ofe; Marq., Ohe; Owyh., Ohe.]
Nogonogo..	Toa The name of a tree. [Tong., toa; Marq., toa; Owyh., toa.]
Leva	Vaheene .. A woman. [Tong., Fefene; Marq., Vaheene; New Z. Owy.]
Lava	Upea A fishing net.
Lale.....	Pahu A drum. [Marq., Pahu.]
Loge	Opahe An axe. [New Z., Toge.]
Longa	Moea A mat. [Tong., moea; Marq., Moea; Owyh., Moea.]
Puka	Auahe fire. [Marq., Ahe; New Z., Ahe; Tong., Afe.]
Kalau	Atua The Deity. [Tong., Odua; New Z., Atua; Marq., Atua.]
Senga	Aore No, not. [Tong., kae; New Z., Kaore; Marq., Aoe.]
senga.....	Ra Sun. [Tong., Laa; New Z., ra; Marq., a.; Owy., ra.]
Sangole....	Eea fish. [Tong., Eka; New Z., Eka; Marq., Eka.]
Ranegae ...	Te The Te plant. [Marq., Te; Owyh., Tee; Tong., Te.]
Turanga ...	Are A chief or king. [Tong., Age; New Z., Areke.]
Vosa	Parau.....Speech or Language. [Marq., 'Takau; Tong., Lea.]

But notwithstanding this essential difference observable in a great proportion of the language, there are many nouns,

verbs and adverbs that bear much resemblance to those of the islanders to the eastward and also New Zealand. The sky is called in Fejean *lange*, and by the New Zealanders *erange*, Tong. *lange*, Parata people *range*, Owyh. *range*, Marq. *ane*, Taheit. *rae*. The wind in Fejean, *tange*, New Z. *matange*, Parata *matanga*, Owyhean *matange*, Tong. *matange*, Taheitean, *matae*.

A man in Fejean is *tamata*, Tong. *tongata*, New Z. *tongata*. Marq. *anata*, Owyh. *anata* and *tongata*. Parata *tongata*. Taheit. *taota*.

The Fejean numerals are, except the first and tenth, the same as Tongatabu. One is called *tase*, and ten, *tene*.

The Fejeans never use an aspirate sound¹, and they cannot without difficulty pronounce a word that has an *h* in it, though their neighbours of the Friendly islands use more aspirates than any people in the South Seas.

The S. abounds in their language, the *l* and nasal *ng*. The Windward islands use the *j*, but the Leeward substitute in the room of it *d* or *t*².

Of their religious notions we scarcely had an opportunity of learning anything. It is certain that they have a plurality of gods, but we saw no images or *moraïs* or worshipping places. We were informed by the Tongatabuans that there were nearly as many gods as men at the Fejes, but it seems that they have no religious parade like their eastern neighbours. They do not offer human sacrifices nor have they any houses dedicated to the gods. They told us that *Kalau* or Deity dwelt above in or about the sky, but when they saw

¹ The statement that no *h* is used in Fijian is true of Mbauan, but wherever the Tongans have come in *h* is used instead of *s*. This is especially the case on the south-western coast of Navitilevu, from Serua to Nandi, and in the adjoining part of Tholo Navosa.

² The windward islanders of Lau do use *j* for *t* and for *th*; and in Kandavu *t* is often pronounced *tch*, as also in Tholo Navosa, Nandroga and Nandi. But *d* is nowhere converted into *j*; probably Davies meant that the Fijian *d* (which is really *nd*), not the English *d*, was so converted; his informants, being Tongans and Mathuata men, probably pronounced *t* with an inclination towards the English *d*—just as they did *k*, if they uttered it at all, like an English *g*. Lau men, and especially those from Lakemba, do this: but in Mathuata the real local people generally omit *k*, and to some extent also *t*, so that *katakata* becomes *'a'a'a'a*.

some portraits of men in our books they exclaimed Kalau! Kalau ege¹! These are gods!, and it is probable that these islanders universally have an idea that the Deity has a human shape or likeness.

Wednesday, January 24th. [1810.] Wind favourable. No particular occurrence.

Thursday, January 25th. [1810.] Wind and weather favourable. We are now sailing generally at the rate of six miles an hour. Abundance of sea birds around us.

Friday, January 26th. [1810.] There is but little wind to-day, but it continues favourable.

Saturday, January 27th. [1810.] No remarkable occurrence. At noon in Lat. 27 South wind. Cold.

Sabbath, January 28th. [1810.] Nothing remarkable transpiring. Our Sabbaths are spent very uncomfortably as we cannot meet for worship. Fine weather.

Monday, January 29th. [1810.] Early in the morning discovered Norfolk Island, and about 10 a.m. as we were standing in for Sydney Bay, a boat came off to know what we were, and where bound. The Capt. went ashore in her, and a little while after the boat returned to the vessel bringing provisions. Mr. Mitchel, who came out as a missionary in the Royal Admiral, is still here, and now one of the principal settlers. He paid us a visit this afternoon, bringing a present of bread, potatoes, onions and greens. Also Capt. Piper, who is Commandant on the island, kindly sent us a present of a fat sheep. Weather rather unfavourable.

Tuesday, January 30th. [1810.] Last night we were blown off the Island, and to-day there is a strong gale and heavy sea, so that we cannot approach the land.

Wednesday, January 31st. [1810.] We have had a very boisterous and rough night, and the sea is running so high that it is dangerous to approach the Island. It is said that bad weather and high seas are very common here. It is a pity that such a fine island has no harbour.

Thursday, February 1st. [1810.] The weather moderated so that we were able to make Sydney Bay again A boat

¹ *Kalou eke!* "Here are spirits!"

came off with the Capt. who could not return till now. It is commonly the case when a person goes ashore here. He may have no opportunity of returning for days or weeks, and sometimes not at all. Many vessels have been blown off, leaving passengers, &c., behind without intending it.

Friday, February 2nd. [1810.] The Capt. and some of the Brethren went ashore, intending to return in the evening, but could not, as the sea arose high.

Saturday, February 3rd. [1810.] The Capt. and Brethren returned. It is now determined that the vessel shall proceed to Port Jackson, as the Lascars of which the ship's crew consists will not agree to return to the Fejees without rice, and that article cannot be procured here. The Capt. would persuade us to remain here for the present, as provisions are plenty and cheap in comparison with Port Jackson, where we hear there is scarcity on account of floods lately at the Hawksbury Settlement; but we thought best to proceed as we have an opportunity, and as Norfolk is expected every day to be evacuated. Most of the Colonists have already emigrated to the new settlement at the Derwent. Capt. Piper very kindly offered us any assistance in his power, and said if we thought proper to stop he would give us houses and land and provisions from his Majesty's stores, but at the same time informed us that he expected every day to be called off, and there was probability the Colony should be given up, and in that case, when the evacuation took place it would perhaps be difficult for us to get a passage for ourselves and property. Had it not been for this, Br. Eyre, and probably some others of us would have staid here. There are at Norfolk at present only 17 military and about a hundred settlers, men, women and children, as we were informed.

Sabbath, February 4th. [1810.] A fine breeze and moderate weather. We begin to feel the cold very sensibly, having been so long habituated to the scorching heat of the Torrid Zone; and beside we have no clothing suitable to a colder climate.

Monday, February 5th. [1810.] A calm most of the day. We made therefore but small progress.

Tuesday, February 6th. [1810.] A fine and favourable breeze. We are sailing at the rate of six miles an hour.

Wednesday, February 7th. [1810.] About six in the morning we were abreast of Howe's Island. It appears a barren spot, part of it is higher than Norfolk. It abounds with aquatic birds, and there are some goats and turkies left here by some of the whalers. There is but little water on the island and that difficult to be procured. Sailed between Howe's Island and Ball's Pyramid, a notable rock standing high out of the water.

Thursday, February 8th. [1810.] Wind unfavourable. Sudden squalls and some rain.

Friday, February 9th. [1810.] Wind more favourable, but sudden squalls as yesterday. Discovered land, a part of New Holland in the neighbourhood of Port Gervise¹.

Saturday, February 10th. [1810.] Having stood off from the land during the night we made toward it again, in the evening saw it and found we were to the northward of the place we saw yesterday. Squally and disagreeable weather, which seems common on this coast.

Sabbath, February 11th. [1810.] Wind and weather very unfavourable. We are now a great way from the coast.

Monday, February 12th. [1810.] Wind more favourable; made towards the coast again.

Tuesday, February 13th. [1810.] Saw land in the morning to the north of Broken Bay, but could not gain anything to the southward, the wind not being favourable.

Wednesday, February 14th. [1810.] Came to anchor in Broken Bay and sent a dispatch over land to inform Mr. Blaxcell, the owner of the *Hibernia*, of the distress we were in for want of provisions. Heard there is a new Governor in the Colony.

Friday, February 16th. [1810.] Weighed anchor and sailed for Port Jackson, but were becalmed so that we gained only a few miles. Had a fine prospect of this part of the coast.

Saturday, February 17th. [1810.] Anchored at Sydney Cove about 11 a.m. Sent a letter to his Excellency Governor

¹ Jervis Bay.

Macquarie informing him of our arrival and circumstances, and requesting as British subjects in distress the priviledges of settlers in the Colony. Mr. Crook and some other friends came alongside to see us, but the regulations of the Port will not allow them to come on board as yet.

Sabbath, February 18th. [1810.] Several of the brethren went ashore and attended service at Church, both morning and evening and heard two good sermons from Revd. Mr. Cowper, an Evangelical Clergyman lately come from England.

Monday, February 19th. [1810.] The brethren went ashore at Sydney. Some took their residence at Mr. Crooks. Others went up with Brothers Hassal and Shelley to Parramatta.

CAPTAIN RICHARD SIDDONS'
EXPERIENCES IN FIJI

1809-15

CAPTAIN RICHARD SIDDONS' EXPERIENCES

[“J. A.” whose notes on Captain Richard Siddons’ experiences in Fiji were printed in the *Gentleman’s Magazine*¹, was Dr Joseph Arnold, whose name just survives in that of perhaps the most remarkable of parasitic plants, *Rafflesia Arnoldi*, which was discovered by him when with Sir Stamford Raffles in the Malay peninsula. Arnold died at Padang on 26th July, 1818; so that the publication in the *Gentleman’s Magazine* was posthumous.

Arnold, after some years of service as a naval surgeon, was paid off, and early in 1815 took medical charge of the transport “Northampton,” carrying female convicts to New Holland. It was his second visit to the new settlement, and he had expected to have been well received there, but was disappointed in this. The following passage from a *Memoir of Arnold* by Dawson Turner² tells the story of Arnold’s meeting with Siddons:

‘At length, after a month’s sojourn at Sydney, he (Arnold) embarked on board the “Indefatigable” of Boston, a merchant vessel bound for England, by way of Batavia, where she was to receive a cargo of coffee and pepper³. The sum to be paid for his passage was £50, he finding his own mess. With an inferior ship and incompetent captain, the voyage was tardy and hazardous among the islands so copiously scattered between New Holland and Java. At some of these they touched: and at the Feejees, or Sandal-wood islands⁴, in particular, they collected a variety of information, as well concerning that peculiar trade, as the customs

¹ Vol. xc (1820), 184 *et seq.*; pp. 211-213 and 297-300.

² “Memoir of Joseph Arnold, M.D., Surgeon in the Royal Navy, Fellow of the Linnaean Society, and of the Royal Medical Society of Edinburgh. By Dawson Turner Esq. M.D. Printed by J. M. Burton, Ipswich. MDCCCLIX.” The pamphlet appears now to be rare, but there is a copy in the Kew Gardens Library.

³ There were two other ships in company with the “Indefatigable,” Captain Bowles, during this leisurely voyage, viz.: the “Cochin,” Captain Pearson, and, more especially noteworthy, the “Campbell Macquarie,” Captain Siddons.

⁴ It is evident from Arnold’s own words that the ships did not actually touch at, but only passed “at no great distance from,” the Friendly and Fijian Islands.

and religion of the natives. Their principal informant amused them with many a story hardly less wonderful than certain of the adventures of Sinbad the Sailor, in the Arabian Nights; and yet, he so solemnly vouched for, and so supported by apparent proofs, the truth of what he said, that it was difficult not to believe him. He dwelt with peculiar emphasis on the uniformly prevalent practice of strangling the widow of a deceased chief; and he related some deeply affecting anecdotes of instances that had fallen under his own knowledge, in one of which he had vainly interfered at the peril of his life, to rescue the victim from the grasp of a bloody priest.'

Another chance fragment of Arnold's writing¹ affords opportunity of understanding the intercourse between the doctor from the "Indefatigable" and Captain Siddons of the "Campbell Macquarie." Arnold contributed to Horsburgh's *India Directory* a note on the route of the "Indefatigable" through Torres Strait, in the course of which he says that on the 7th of August (1815) the "Indefatigable" was steered through Endeavour Strait, and at once again fell in with the two other vessels, which had parted company on the 6th, and which "were now in want of surgical aid, as the Captains of both vessels and some of their people had been speared by the natives on the preceding evening in attempting to land on Possession Island."

On the 2nd of September (1815) the "Indefatigable" anchored in Batavia Roads; and on the 22nd of October the carelessness of some boys set fire to a cask of spirits in the ship's hold, and the stupidity, ignorance, and obstinacy of both captain and crew allowed her to be burned to the water's edge. A great part of Arnold's papers were destroyed in this fire, and the present locality of such as escaped—and were evidently known to Dawson Turner—is unknown; it is fortunate that the fragment which gives Richard Siddons' story was put on record in the *Gentleman's Magazine*.

E. IM T.]

The Feejee Islands are situated about 21 deg. South latitude, and 174 deg. West longitude. They are very little known, and have received various names from different navigators. Tongataboo is the best known of this group, and there is an

¹ "The INDIA DIRECTORY, or DIRECTIONS FOR SAILING to and from the EAST INDIES, CHINA, AUSTRALIA, and the Interjacent Ports." Vol. II, pp. 873-5. (7th Edition.)

account of it in a work by the missionaries¹, who endeavoured to convert the inhabitants to our holy religion.

These islands have been but little frequented except by the Missionaries², some of whom were massacred in their devout attempts. They have, however, been sometimes visited by men who had a less holy intention; viz. by persons in search of sandalwood, which forms a valuable article of commerce in China, where it is said to be worth £80 a ton³.

In the pursuit of this article many persons have had intercourse with the inhabitants; and have by no means left a favourable opinion of white men among them. One vessel particularly⁴, after promising to assist them in their wars with the natives of a neighbouring island, for which piece of service their brig was to be laden with sandal wood, received from them their cargo, and left them without any return. In consequence of some nefarious transactions of this sort, they have sometimes showed signs of hostility, and more than once innocent persons have suffered for the guilty.

Having occasion to pass at no great distance from these islands in the year 1815, the master of a brig in company, whose name is Siddons, gave me the following account. Mr Siddons had been several years living among them, had an estate there, and they even acknowledged him as a Chief⁵.

¹ "A MISSIONARY VOYAGE To the SOUTHERN PACIFIC OCEAN Performed in the years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the Ship DUFF commanded by Captain James Wilson, London, 1799." There is apparently an earlier missionary book on the Friendly Islands, by the Jesuit priest, Father Walther, but the present writer has never been able to find a copy of this. As to Arnold's failure to distinguish between the Friendly or Tongan Islands and the Fijian group, see p. 9, *n. 3 ante*.

² Missionaries sent out by the "Missionary Society"—for it did not take the title of London Missionary Society till a later date—reached the Friendly Islands for the first time in the "Duff," in April 1797; and the last survivors of these were removed by the "Betsy," Cptn. Clark, in 1799. The only missionaries to set foot in the Fijian Islands before 1835 were the passengers on the "Hibernia" who were stranded on an island off the coast of Vanua Levu for a few weeks in 1809.

³ It looks as if Siddons had been discreetly reticent as to the extent of the recent sandalwood raids.

⁴ The reference is probably to the affair in which Captain Robson of the "Hunter," with his lieutenant Peter Dillon, at that time in command of the tender "Elizabeth," had been engaged at Wailea two years previously (see Dillon's *Voyage in the S. Seas*, 1, p. 8 *et seq.*).

⁵ It is improbable that Siddons had lived ashore for any considerable

As to the truth of his relation I have no manner of doubt; for, although on hearing it, some circumstances were enough to startle me, yet having met with another man soon afterwards, who had been in the same trade, I took the opportunity to converse with him on the subject; he gave the same account, and without knowing that I had heard them before, related many circumstances that had happened to Siddons himself; for it appeared they had both been there at the same time¹.

When a man dies (said Mr Siddons), if he be a chief or man of importance, one or more of his wives are strangled at his funeral; some have but one wife, but I have known several with five or six. I myself was present at one of these ceremonies. The defunct was an old chief who had died of some lingering disease, and his body was wasted to skin and bone. A native friend, who was a chief, came on board my brig, and invited me on shore to see the ceremony, as I had formerly expressed a wish to that effect. The corpse was rolled up in large folds of a kind of cloth that is made in these islands, similar to, but coarser than that which is made at Taheite. They conveyed the body to the door of the house of the *caloo* or priest; who are men having great influence in the country, and who are supposed to foretell future events. The corpse was placed on the ground with the feet towards the door of the priest's house, and many hundreds of the natives were surrounding it. A woman was sitting at the head, which was uncovered, for the cloth was principally rolled across the belly. She had in her hand something like a powder-puff, and she continually puffed the face of the corpse with a black powder. I was anxious to get near the body, but my friend continually exhorted me to keep at a distance. I nevertheless persisted, and advanced to within a few yards time in the 'Feejees,' though undoubtedly he had moved about for several years in his ship in the islands; he may also have been assigned land by one or other of the chiefs, but his tenure can hardly have been very secure; that he was recognised as a chief, much as was Dillon, is probably true.

¹ Very probably the informant was Dillon, whose first appearance in Fiji (in 1809) was as a member of Siddons' ship's company.

of it. The woman continued to sprinkle the face with the black powder; and when I had waited about an hour, a murmur among the multitude and a sort of shout attracted my attention. My native friend, who kept beside me, informed me that it was occasioned by the approach of the principal wife of the defunct chief, who lived some miles off, and who had just arrived in a canoe. In a few minutes she had made her appearance, accompanied by her female friends. I did not observe any mark of extreme dejection about her, but she appeared serious and thoughtful; she advanced to the body, kissed it¹, and then retreated backwards about twenty steps, keeping her face towards it. A woman well known to me was sitting there, and the widow placed herself upon her lap, when the females who had accompanied her to the place approached her and attempted to kiss her: but she repelled them scornfully with her arms. The woman upon whose lap she sat, then put one of her hands at the back part of the head of the widow, and the other on her mouth; a man suddenly placed a cord round her neck; six men, who were ready, took hold of it, three at each end, and pulled with all their force. I did not observe that the widow made the least struggle, although after the manner of the country she was only covered about the middle; not even her legs moved. I was anxious to know what would be done with the bodies, and had recourse to my friend for that purpose. He told me, however, that that was not permitted to be known², but that I might see all that they themselves knew; the final part of the ceremony being known only to the *caloo*. I accordingly went to the priest's house in the evening. The dead chief and his strangled widow were placed near the door. I had brought one of my boat's crew with me, and as the few natives that were present had some difficulty in forcing the chief's body through the door-way, in consequence of the many folds of cloth that were about it, this man assisted them in this part of the rite; and while this was doing I went into the

¹ The Fijian equivalent for "to kiss" is *rengu-tha*, which is merely to touch the object with the nose and then to sniff upward.

² Great care was taken to keep secret the actual place of burial of chiefs: it was usually in some remote cave.

appartment, anxious to discover whether there was any grave dug. It was dark, and I felt about the house cautiously with my feet, lest there should be a cavern beneath it, but I found none; and as they had then placed the two bodies beside each other in the house, my friend told me that I could not be permitted to see more, and we retired.

Another instance of the same ceremony I was more intimately acquainted with, and indeed was in some measure a party concerned. I had been on a cruise, and at my return I found my friend Riceammong¹ dead. He was a fine young man, and a chief; I had formerly entered into an agreement with him for a cargo of sandal wood, which was not yet fulfilled. I greatly regretted the death of this man, not only because I had a friendship for him, but because I feared it would be a means of losing my cargo of sandal wood. I called immediately upon his mother, who had also been a great friend to me. As soon as she saw me she embraced me; and not knowing I had been informed of her loss, with tears told me, that Riceammong was dead; and what can I do, said she, how shall I be able to procure you the sandal wood? I told her I was much grieved at the loss of her son, and requested to pay my respect to the body. I knew very well before that it was customary to visit and speak to the dead as if they were living, and that there was always some person present to give answers for them. I therefore went with the mother to the apartment where the body was laid, and taking hold of the dead chief's hand, I said to him, "I see, Riceammong, what has happened to you; you are dead, and have left us; you know, Riceammong, the agreement that existed between us, that you were to procure me a freight of sandal wood, which I have already paid you for, and which I have not received; what is to be done in the business, Riceammong?" The mother, who stood by, answered, "Yes, I recollect the agreement, and I will take care that it shall be fulfilled." Much more conversation passed between us which it is needless to repeat,

¹ "Riceammong" appears to be meant for *Raisamanga*; but the latter part of the word is obscene, and does not form a very likely proper name—though names of the kind are not unknown, and have been met with as lately as 1891, in Tholo West.

when we retired from the body. I was by this time intimate with many of the natives. I had a house and farm, and most of my property was rendered sacred or, as it is called in the country, tabooed, so that any person injuring it might be destroyed.

The old mother took me to her house, and we had much conversation respecting the sandal wood that I had agreed with her son for; she wept much during our conversation, and anxiously spoke of Riceammong's principal wife. You know, said she, that she paid great attention to the white people, that she fed them, and clothed them. Alas! unless some of her friends rescue her, she must follow my son to the grave. I know of no friend she has in the world, added she, embracing me, but yourself: are you willing to save her? I would do my utmost to save her. Run then, said she, hastily; wait not a moment, there is still a chance of her life being preserved.—I was ignorant what it was necessary for me to do to effect the purpose, and enquired of the mother; she added quickly, You know that you have the authority of a chief; bring to the place of funeral a valuable present, hold it up in your hands, on your knees repeat the words: I beg the life of this woman; and her life may be spared. But, continued the old woman quickly, if you save her, you will have a right to her. I do not wish any person to possess the widow of my son. I told her I only wished to save her life; when she embraced me weeping, and I went away. I had unfortunately nothing on shore with me sufficiently valuable for the purpose. I therefore ran down to the boat, to go off to the brig, which was thirty miles distant¹: we pulled on board as fast as possible, and I took one of the largest whales teeth, which I knew to be more valued there than gold. With a fresh boat's crew we pulled back again; I was certain there was not a moment to spare; on my reaching the shore I leaped out of the boat, and ran to the spot where the ceremony would take place. The caloo, however, was my enemy; indeed he was the enemy of all the white people; he had even predicted that

¹ The scene of the incident seems to have been at Wailea Bay; and the ship was probably lying at Mbua.

the increased intercourse with the whites would endanger the nation. Hearing what I had intended to do, he had hastened the ceremony. He was a man apparently above the ordinary occurrences of life; whether through hypocrisy or a real hardness of heart, he seemed to be bereft of the ordinary affections of men; and I am inclined to think much instigated by hatred towards the white people, he had, under the cloak of religion, already bereft the widow of Riceammong of life. The mother had endeavoured with all her power to prolong the time; the widow also, equally anxious to escape, had used her utmost efforts to avoid the fatal cord; but all was in vain. The priest, with a look of sanctity, explained to the people that it was necessary; that men only had a right to interfere in these concerns; that it was the law, and that he was determined for reasons known only to himself, that the usual sacrifice should take place immediately. It was therefore done as he had commanded, and the widow of Riceammong was strangled about a quarter of an hour before I arrived with the whale's tooth. My departed friend had three wives, two of whom were strangled; the third was saved by the influence of her relations, who were persons of great influence.

When I saw the bodies together, and that I had endeavoured in vain to save the widow, I was excessively agitated, and, in the first impulse of my disappointment, went to the corpse of the widow and kissed it. The *caloo* was standing near it; he was a man that could contain his passions; I knew of his hostility towards me; I upbraided him with the strongest expressions I could think of; but, smothering every mark of passion, he merely answered coolly, it is the law.

Since that time I have been present at several ceremonies of the same kind, but all of them are nearly the same in their performance; it would not be worth while therefore to speak more on the subject.

The people of these islands are cannibals. They inhabit a great many islands which have no appropriate names on the charts, but all of them have their peculiar native designa-

tions¹. The largest of these islands are divided into several districts, and there is often war among the people of the neighbouring places.

I had bought a bolt of canvass of the master of a vessel that was there, and he demanded a very large piece of sandal wood for it, ten times as much as it was worth. I was, however, obliged to consent, and took him on shore to a place where I knew a large enough piece was lying; for I was well known on the island, and had some authority; but he was a stranger; and it was very dangerous for perfect strangers, to trust themselves far from the shore. We had arrived at the log, and, having measured it, and found it not quite so large as was agreed upon, were talking about our bargain, when an old woman, well known to me, appeared with a large basket upon her shoulders. She came up to us, and exclaimed in a dismal tone: War, war, war. I immediately knew that something was wrong, and that all was not safe. The man who was with me would have fled to the boat; but I advised him to stay with me, who was known, and could speak the language; whereas, if he were seen by himself running to his boat, there was a probability of his being killed. He remained therefore with me, and when we had waited some time, a native acquaintance came up. I inquired of him the meaning of the old woman's expression; when he informed me that they had been at war; that they had killed the chief of Hyparcar²; that they had had the good fortune to seize upon his body; and that they would feast upon it tomorrow; inviting me to be of the party.

To enable me to have so intimate an intercourse with these people, I had to encounter many dangers, and to conform to many of their disgusting customs. This horrible custom, however, of eating human flesh, I had hitherto been able to avoid; but it was necessary that I should seem to acquiesce even in this, and, as the natives did, take a delight in it. To the native's invitation, therefore, I gave a ready assent,

¹ It is very doubtful if the natives had names for the islands as such; rather they had names for the districts, which sometimes were and sometimes were not coincident with the islands.

² "Hyparcar" = Naivaka (Lockerby's "Highparker").

seemed to rejoice at the circumstance, and explained to him that, as I had just arrived from a cruise, and had not tasted of fresh food for some time, it would be particularly welcome to me. I then went about my other concerns; and in an hour or two the native who had accosted me in the morning came up to me, and, as if by accident, led me to the log of sandal wood we had been bargaining for. The body of the captive had been laid beside it. It was that of a man about six feet high; there was a large wound across the forehead, and another at the top of the head, as if from the blows of a club. I started back at the sight, and the native exclaimed with emphasis; are you afraid? Sanga, sanga, said I (no, no); I hope to feast on him tomorrow.

The people of these islands always eat human flesh cold; they roast it one day, and eat it the next; and before the body is cut to pieces, the *caloo* performs a long ceremony. I went with my native friend to the priest's house; he was then about to perform the usual incantation. He had a long staff in his hands; and having placed one end of it on the ground, he exercised himself violently in reeling to and fro with it, till overcome with the exercise he fell down, and the attendants carried him into the house. He then said something in the manner of an oracle, which, as it was explained to me, meant that they would succeed in what they were about to undertake, referring to a battle that was intended.

The multitude then went down to their dead enemy, and with pieces of wood or bamboo, made very sharp, cut off his hands at the wrists, his feet at the ankles, his legs at the knees, and his thighs near the middle, dividing the bone with an axe, which they had purchased from one of the vessels that had been at the island. The head was cut off very low toward the breast, and they placed it on some hot ashes that had previously been prepared in a hole dug out for the purpose; and when it had remained there a sufficient time, they rubbed off the hair with shells, and replaced it with the other parts of the body in the hole, surrounding it on all sides with stones that had been made very hot. They then covered it up till it was completely roasted. I told the natives that I

expected they would allow me my share of it; that I was then going on board, but that I should not fail to come on shore on the morrow; but that, if I should be prevented, I desired that they would send my share on board the brig. The men of Hylai (for that was the name of the place)¹ promised that I should not be disappointed, and I then left them.

On my going on board, I told my mate what was going forward, and desired that, when the human flesh should be brought on board for me, he should say, I was gone on shore; and that when they should tell him what they had brought, he should seem disgusted, and refuse to receive it on board; that he should say, that although the captain was fond of it, yet that he hated it, and that they might carry it on shore again, for he would not receive it. On the following day it was done as I desired; they brought the roasted human flesh alongside, and the mate refused to admit it on board, at the same time exclaiming violently against the custom. They at length went on shore with it, very much disappointed, and threatening that, if they met with him, they would kill him.

Two days after this I went among them again. I thought I might turn the circumstance of the human flesh to my advantage. I pretended to be very angry with them, said that they had deceived me; that they had not sent me my share of the human flesh. They persisted in affirming that they had sent it alongside, and that the mate would not receive it. I inquired, I told them, when I went on board, and no one had seen or heard of it, and, added I, I have been greatly disappointed. Finding it, therefore, in vain to persuade me that they had sent it to me; they railed against the mate, and repeated that if they met him on shore they would kill him.

Carrying on the deception, I immediately went to the mother of Riceammong. I told her that I was very angry that I had been disappointed and deceived. She spoke respectfully to me, as chiefs generally do when they address each other. In a very low submissive voice she said (for even here there is prevalent a great portion of Eastern bombast): if you are angry me shall die. She then demanded what could

¹ Hylai = Wailea (see p. 14 note.)

be done to pacify me? I told her I must have a certain quantity of sandal wood. She therefore immediately sent some of her servants to collect it for me; which appeased me, and I returned on board¹.

Soon after this, having collected my cargo, I left the place, and have heard no more of these people. They are a dangerous race to go among; and I was the only person of five vessels², who had any authority among them, and was permitted to live on shore.

One of the most extraordinary circumstances among them is, the excessive value they set upon large teeth, such as those of the whale or sea elephant. So that persons going to procure sandal wood from them generally take with them as many of these teeth as they can procure.

The principal things they barter for are axes, knives, or razors; but they will give as much wood for one large tooth, as for five or six axes. This regard they put upon large teeth is the more extraordinary, as they do not seem to make any use of them, except as ornaments³.

When a native, by purchase or any other means, becomes possessed of a large tooth, he hangs it up in his house, and for the first few days scarcely ceases looking upon it and admiring it. He frequently takes it down, and rubs it with a particular kind of leaf, and polishes it; some of them almost for a month continue to labour upon it⁴.

The vessels from Port Jackson usually carried the teeth of

¹ A typical instance of the too-frequent cunning dealing with natives, which tended to change their original good-will towards the Europeans into ill-will.

² Perhaps Siddons meant five "Colony vessels" (*i.e.* built and belonging to Port Jackson) as distinguished from East Indian, English or American ships; if so the five would probably be the "Mercury," "Elizabeth," "King George," the "Campbell Macquarie," and the "Perseverance."

³ As to the use of whales teeth as objects of barter, see Introduction. The teeth were of no practical, but only of symbolic, value to the native.

⁴ The particular kind of leaf may have been one of two things; the Fijians get "sandpaper" for polishing from two plants, either the leaf of a wild fig (*Ficus scabra*) or the whole stem and leaves of a "mare's tail" (*Equisetum debilis*). The tissues of the mare's tail contain much silica; and the Fijian name for it is *ai masi masi ni tambua* (from *masia*, to polish, and *tambua*, the whale's tooth); a literal translation would be "the rubber of the whale's tooth."

the whale or sea elephant; but some vessels from India carried elephants teeth, which they cut into pieces, and made in the shape of other teeth. These, being very large, were considered of the greatest value, and procured vast quantities of sandal wood. So great an account was set upon them, that some chiefs actually came from islands more than a hundred miles distant to see them.

They set no value on money. A ship called the *Eliza*, with several thousand dollars on board, was wrecked on a reef near one of these islands. The master of her put about four thousand of them in the jolly-boat, and made for the island that was most frequented, where he found a vessel from Port Jackson¹, and got on board of her. The jolly-boat was left towing astern, and some hours had passed before the master of the ship-wrecked vessel mentioned the dollars being left in the boat. It happened that this was done in the presence of the mate, who reported it to one of the sailors, and they removed them by stealth. Some of them they concealed in their cabins, and others the accomplice took on shore, and buried. Some of the natives, however, saw him covering something up, and when he went away they dug up the dollars. On the following morning they were widely distributed among the natives, who parted with them for the merest trifles, such as nails, pins, or small pieces of iron.

A man called *Savage*², who had been some time among the natives at Tongataboo, about this time came to the island, and hearing where the wreck was, went to the place, and found the dollars lying in heaps upon the beach.

Such is the account given by Mr Siddons: I cannot vouch for the truth of it, but am inclined to believe that it is mostly true. To many it may appear to be too much allied to the voyages of Sindbad the Sailor, but I would not disbelieve it on that account. From many persons I have heard similar

¹ The "Jenny." This particular incident in the treatment of the dollars salvaged from the "Eliza" does not seem to be mentioned elsewhere.

² We know from Patterson that Charles Savage reached Fiji in the "Eliza" and was actually on board that ship when she was wrecked (see p. 99 *ante*).

accounts, but very few have had the opportunity of seeing so much of these people as Siddons. There is a possibility also of some of the circumstances that I have mentioned in this account having been published before, especially in the Missionary Voyage; which being the case, one account may be set against the other; and may either confirm the truth of it, or render it doubtful. Siddons lived on the island, I believe, several years, and had house and lands; perhaps wives. If he be not the Missionary himself mentioned in Pinkerton's Geography, as having forsaken the original purpose of his visiting the islands, namely, that of propagating the Gospel, for the more sensual gratifications of life; at least it is probable that the one may have been known by the other, and may be mentioned accordingly¹. This account I heard from Siddons himself, and I thought it worth while to commit it to paper.

Torres Straits, August 5, 1815.

¹ As to Siddons having lived "on the island" for several years, see note on p. 165 *n. 5 ante*. The renegade missionary referred to by Pinkerton was not Siddons but George Vason (he has sometimes been erroneously called Veson), one of the men sent out in the "Duff." An account of Vason's doings in the Tongan, not the Fijian, islands is recorded in "An Authentic Narrative of Four Years Residence in Tongatabu, in the South Sea: By —— who went thither in the Duff, under Captain Wilson, in 1796": Vason after living for some years with and as a native, was taken off from Vavao, the northernmost of the larger Friendly islands, by the "Royal Admiral," in August, 1801. [See Wm. Smith's "Journal," p. 251.] The story of his "four years residence," was reprinted in 1840 as "A Narrative of the late George Vason....By the Rev. James Orange, Author of the New History of Nottingham &c. &c." To this edition is added an account of Vason's subsequent career, as Governor of the town gaol of Nottingham.

APPENDIX

A. EXTRACTS FROM PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

A.A.R. *Asiatic Annual Register.*
C.G. *Calcutta Gazette.*
M.M. *Monthly Magazine; or British Register.*
P.W.I.G. *Prince of Wales' Island Gazette.*
S.G. *Sydney Gazette and New South Wales Advertiser.*

B. MBULI NDAMA, TRADITION AS TO.

C. TRISTAN D'ACUNHA, JONATHAN LAMBERT'S LETTER FROM.

A. EXTRACTS FROM PERIODICAL PUBLICATIONS

M.M. vol. xvii, Part 1, No. iii. Feb. 1, 1804. A ship was purchased for the purpose, the principal part of which was the property of Mr Palmer¹, though Captain Read, Mr Boston, and Mr Ellis had a small share in her. On the 20th of January, 1800, they set sail from Port Jackson with an intention of going directly to New Zealand to take in timber for the market at the Cape of Good Hope. The ship was in a wretched condition, and provisions were taken on board for a voyage of only six months, a period which they had fixed for their arrival at the Cape. Twenty-six weeks, however, they spent at New Zealand, during which the whole of their stores were expended. Distress of the most alarming nature now compelled them to go in search of provisions; they steered for Tongataboo, but there they could obtain no relief, in consequence of an existing war between the natives of this and the neighbouring islands. From there they resolved to call at the Feegee Islands, at one of which they procured a small supply; and the favourable reception they met with in the first instance determined them to visit the others. By endeavouring to get to the island of Goraa² they ran their crazy vessel on a reef, by which a large part of her keel was carried away; and in less than half an hour she made seven

¹ Thomas Fyshe Palmer, one of the unfortunate "Scottish Martyrs" who for alleged political offences suffered transportation to Botany Bay, his sentence having expired in September 1799, joined James Ellis, an old friend who, as a "free settler," had followed him to New South Wales, and some others, in the purchase of the "El Plumier" (often called the "Plumer," and even the "Plumo") with the intention of returning to England in her, by way of the Cape of Good Hope.

² Koro.

feet of water; but, the surf rising, they were driven off the reef into deep water. They immediately cast anchor, and with the assistance of some of the natives repaired the vessel¹. To them also they were indebted not only for a supply of every necessary while in that state, but for a liberal stock to go to sea with. They now determined to proceed to Macao, in China; but, meeting with contrary winds, they sailed till their provisions were exhausted and the repairs of the ship were all opening again.

In this doubtful situation they were compelled to put into the island of Guam, though they well knew it was an enemy's port. Upon coming to anchor, on January the 10th, 1802, the Spanish Governor, in reply to their solicitations for provisions, assured them that unless they departed in less than two hours he would detain them as prisoners of war; for to the enemies of his country he could give no support whatever. Necessity obliged them to submit to the hard terms offered them. They were immediately taken prisoners and a guard put into their ship. Messrs. Palmer, Ellis, Boston (2), Reed, and Harris Sen. and Junr., lived with the Governor, and were treated with hospitality. During their stay here, which appears to have been a year and a half, Mr Palmer was seized with a Dysentery, a disease with which he had been perpetually afflicted since he left England, but for which he conceived he had discovered an infallible remedy in cerated glass of antimony and ipecacuanha. Whether Mr Palmer was now without his medicines or, what is more probable, whether the frequent attacks of the same disorder had weakened his constitution to a degree beyond the power of medicine to recruit, we have no information. He lingered under the disorder till the beginning of June, 1802, when a mortification took place which terminated his valuable life, on the second day of that month. His effects and papers he bequeathed to Mr James Ellis, who now resides at Manilla and, with Mr Boston², is carrying on a large distillery under the protection of the Spanish Governor.... etc., etc.

S.G. No. 63, May 12, 1804. The following particulars relative to the persons who left the Colony in the ship "Plomer" in the beginning of 1801 we extract from a letter received by a gentleman from Captain Wilson of the "Royal Admiral":

¹ It must have been on this occasion that Oliver Slater, survivor from the wreck of the "Argo," was picked up by the "El Plumier" at Mbua (Sandalwood Bay) in the Fijian Islands.

² Boston was killed by the natives at Nukualofa together with Captain Pendleton and their boat's crew, on 1st October, 1804, when employed by Simeon Lord as supercargo of the "Union" (see p. 184 *post*).

“ Harris who took passage by the Plomer is lately arrived in London, and gives an interesting account of that vessel’s progress “ after she left New South Wales. On the 3rd of March 1801, she “ arrived at New Zealand, and sailed again the 20th of Aug. “ following for Toongataboo, where, being unable to procure “ supplies, she sailed again to the Feyer Islands¹, and there got “ upon a reef at entering the harbour’s mouth, where by the ship “ was considerably damaged, and a part of her after keel being “ knocked off, and her rudder unhung: so that before they could “ leave the place, bulkheads were necessarily erected in the after “ hold, and tightened with clay, in order to cut off the fractured “ part. In this plight they proceeded for Macao; but the vessel “ proving very leaky, and having suffered incredibly from want “ of provisions, they put into Guam Bay on the 10th of January “ 1802; in hopes of procuring succour; but there, to their great “ mortification, the ship was made a prize, and themselves detained “ as prisoners.

“ From thence Messrs Palmer, Harris, Puckey, and some of the “ crew sailed the 20th of January, 1803; Messrs Boston Ellis, “ Read, and the others of the ship’s company having left it sooner “ by a Spanish vessel bound to Manila, which had remained only “ a few hours in the Bay.

“ Mr Palmer was deeply affected at the circumstance of missing “ the first opportunity; and having exposed himself too long in a “ leaky boat, with a fruitless desire of overtaking her, contracted “ a severe cold, and shortly afterwards paid the debt of Nature.

“ Mr Boston, when arrived at Manila, engaged with some of the “ monied people in the concern of a distiller and has been very “ successful; Mr Ellis is with him, and Capt. Read has the command of a Spanish vessel out of Manila.

“ Their mate, Butler, and his wife got to Copenhagen; Puckey “ died on his passage from Manila to Europe; Mr Boston’s children “ are both dead, as is Mulligan also; so that Harris and his son “ are the only persons among the number who have reached “ England.”

S.G. No. 66 of June 3, 1804. The account contained in a late paper, taken from a letter received by a Gentleman from Capt. Wilson of the “ Royal Admiral,” we are authorised to vouch for the authority of it, with this exception only, that Captn. Read, instead of commanding a Spanish vessel out of Manila, had the charge of an American bottom, the joint property of himself and Mr Boston.

¹ *I.e.* the Fiji Islands.

S.G. No. 76, Aug. 12, 1804. General order by the Governor¹, signed by G. Blaxcell, Acting Secretary, Aug. 11, 1804.

Notwithstanding the claims every Power in amity with His Majesty has for the wants of their Vessels being furnished to such as touch here on a direct voyage from one Port of Discharge to another; yet, when those wants are relieved, it is by no means the Governor's duty to admit such vessels being cleared out from hence otherwise than in prosecution of their direct voyage:

And His Excellency, considering the clearing of such vessels out of the purpose of Skinning and Oiling or with a view to their returning here and making this place a depot for their trade in Skins and Oils as a manifest Injury to His Majesty's subjects in this Territory and its Dependencies, preventing the benefits of the persevering exertions of the British Adventurer, and depriving the British Seaman, Artisans and Labourers of Employment, opening a communication between this Colony and the Honourable East India Company's Territories, exclusive of the Injury His Majesty's Service sustains by the numerous Convicts that have escaped and been received on board American Merchant Ships on their departure:

It is therefore required and directed, that no vessel under Foreign Colours, or belonging to any Foreigner, be cleared from this Port for any sealing voyage within the limits of this Territory or its Dependencies, and for the purpose of returning hither— But that all such vessels, after their necessities are relieved, be cleared out from this Port to any other Port of Discharge.

His Excellency also strictly forbids any person not a natural born Subject of His Majesty, being engaged to reside or settle in this Territory or its Dependencies without previous permission obtained from the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, or Officer in Command for the time being.

British Subjects, Residents of this Territory or its Dependencies, are strictly forbid shipping themselves with Foreigners during the existence of the present war; but if any Commander of a Foreign Ship or Vessel should be in distress for men to navigate his ship from this Port to another Port of Discharge, and verifies the same, on oath if required, due attention will be paid to his representation.

And should any Person whatever, in this Territory or its Dependencies, so far forget what they owe to their own interests, and that of the Society they live in, by using any direct or indirect means to defeat the intent of this Order, they will, on conviction

¹ *I.e.* Governor King.

before a Bench of Magistrates, be fined in the sum of £50. Fifty Pounds sterling for each offence.

By Command of His Excellency

G. BLAXCELL, Acting Sec.

Government House, Sydney.

August 11, 1804.

S.G. No. 83, Sept. 30, 1804. Sailed the "Marcia" schooner for the reefs and west side of New Caledonia, in quest of Trepang or Beche de Mer.

S.G. No. 87, October 28, 1804. On Tuesday (23rd) arrived the "Union," American ship, which left this for China the 29th Aug.;—came last from Tongataboo, one of the Friendly Islands, which she left the 5th inst.

By a young woman named Elizabeth Morey, the mate of the "Union," and others on board, the following melancholy statements were deposed to:—

DEPOSITIONS

respecting

The loss of the American ship "Duke of Portland."

Elizabeth Morey, being sworn, says that she left the Cape of Good Hope with Mr Lovat Mellon, Captain of the American ship "Duke of Portland," bound to Lima; that on or about the 1st of June 1802, the ship touched at an island in the Pacific Ocean called TONGATABOO. That Captain Mellon received a message from a white man, named Doyle, then residing on the island (and who, this deponent afterwards learnt had got there from some vessel that had been cast away on another island, and the Captain and crew killed); that the Chief wished him, Captain Mellon, to send one of his boats mann'd to assist him repelling some invaders that had landed from another island; that a boat was sent armed with eight men and the second mate (Mr Anderson) who, after he had performed the duty allotted to him, returned on board in the evening; that previous to Mr Anderson's return on board, Mr Gibson, the chief Mate with a boat mann'd with four men, went on shore for the purpose of bringing the former boat's crew on board, which he did and both crews came together.

That soon after the return of the boats on board, the Chief of that part of the island, named Ducava¹, came on board to return the Captain thanks for the assistance he had received, stopped on

¹ "Ducava," i.e. 'Teoo Cava,' the supreme or divine Chief of Hihifo, in Tongatabu. (See Mariner's *Account...of the Tonga Islands*, 1, p. 350.)

board the ship all night, and on the morning following went on shore: that the night after, the Chief sent word on board for the two boats to be sent on shore for refreshments the next morning; that the Captain ordered the mate not to do so; but the following morning before the Captain was up, the Mate had sent them both mann'd and armed, with the second mate; that about two hours afterwards the small boat returned with two boys in her, accompanied by several canoes and natives, with yams, and the white man Doyle: that, after unloading her she was again sent on shore with the two boys, and the natives, with the white man Doyle before mentioned remained on board. That shortly afterwards the natives, with the said Doyle, took an opportunity of surrounding the Captain Chief Mate and sailors then on board, seven in number, and killed them all except two boys, this deponent, and a black woman her servant; and threw the dead bodies overboard. That this deponent, seeing the massacre, attempted to jump overboard, but was prevented by the white man Doyle, who told her not to be frightened, for she should not be hurt: that she was sent soon after on shore in one of the native canoes, and given to the Chief's wife; that this deponent, after she had got on shore, learnt from the boys, five in number that were left alive, with a white man of diminutive stature, that the whole of the ship's company that were on shore had been killed except themselves:

That the ship, after the deponent's departure was kept by Doyle: that the Chief himself went off to get her unloaded, for three successive days; but not being able to accomplish the unloading of the ship, he ordered the five remaining white persons to go on board to render assistance in landing her cargo, which consisted chiefly of bales of calico, and different pieces of goods; which they accomplished in six days following: that all the sails were unbent and landed, except two.

That after the cargo was so landed, the four white boys and man took an opportunity of driving the natives overboard, killing Doyle, cutting the cables, and standing out to sea with the ship; and that what further became of the vessel the deponent cannot say.

Daniel Wright, Chief Mate of the ship "Union" of New York, being sworn, says, that on or about the 29th of August of 1804, he sailed in the said ship from the harbour of Port Jackson, under the command of Captain Pendleton¹ having taken on board

¹ A very interesting account of Captain Isaac Pendleton and of his ill-fated voyage in the American sealing ship "Union" is to be found in Edmund Fanning's "Voyages Round the World; with selected sketches of Voyages to the South Seas...between the Years 1792 and 1832" (London, 1834, p. 314 *et seq.*).

Mr John Boston, whom this deponent understood to be Supercargo: that they touched at Norfolk Island, and from thence proceeded for the Island of TOONGATABOO, one of the Friendly Islands, where they arrived on or about the 30th of September; that soon after they came to anchor a number of canoes visited them, but left them at sunset:

That on the following morning they came off in great numbers, among whom was a Malay that spoke broken English, who informed them that they could get plenty of wood, water and refreshments there, and was very urgent for the ship's boats to be sent on shore: that one of the ship's boats was accordingly hoisted out, mann'd with six men, four muskets, and two cutlasses in which boat the Captain and Mr Boston went.

That soon after the departure of the boat from the ship, the natives became very troublesome from their numbers on board and around the vessel; that this deponent stationed all his remaining hands about the ship to prevent their coming on board; but they still succeeded in getting up contrary to his wish, to the number of thirty, who this deponent observed had passed a number of clubs in the ship's channels¹, ready to be handed in: and from his observations he had no doubt but they meant to take the ship:

That the Chief frequently urged this deponent to let more men come on board, which he positively refused, telling him that he should be obliged to turn out those already on board, which he did, the greater part without any resistance or much trouble; that the Chief did not seem in any way dissatisfied with this proceeding, but remained on board some time after, to eat and drink with this deponent: that he shortly after took leave of the ship, and was accompanied by the whole of the canoes alongside—that immediately after the departure of the natives from the vessel the deponent hoisted the colours of the ship, and fired a gun, to put those on shore upon their guard, from his observation of the conduct of those that were on board; but soon after, taking up the spy-glass and looking towards the shore, he perceived the ship's boat on the beach lying broadside on, in the hands of the natives, and a number of natives about her; that this might have been between one and two o'clock, the boat having been gone about four hours:

That this deponent then put the ship in the best order he could, expecting an attack from the natives—but no canoe came off that night:

¹ "Channels," *i.e.* chain-wales, or projecting pieces to which the chains were fixed, to keep these away from the ship's side.

That the next morning two canoes came within hail, but would not come on board: and from several gestures which they made, the people on board wanted this deponent to fire on them, having construed these gestures to that of the boat's crew being murdered, also wishing him much to get the ship under way, and leave the place immediately—but which this deponent would not allow of: that no further intercourse passed that day.

That the day following several canoes came within hail, in one of which this deponent discovered the Malay, who asked this deponent to come on shore, for that the Captain and Boston wished him, that he endeavoured to get the Malay alongside, but could not prevail upon him to do so though he promised to accompany him: the Malay then went on shore again. The same afternoon he came off again accompanied by several canoes, in one of which the deponent observed a European woman who spoke to them in English, as did also the Malay, inviting him on shore: but by particular signs from the white woman when unnoticed by the natives, she forbade them to comply with the request:—That finding they could not prevail in getting another boat from the ship, they took their departure, and nothing further occurred that day.

The next morning, being the third day after the boat in which the Captain and Mr Boston had gone ashore, several canoes again came off, in one of which was the white woman and in the other the Malay, repeating the former request; that the deponent endeavoured to get him (the Malay) alongside by offering presents for the Chief but without effect: that the white woman stood up in the head of one of the canoes, cried out that those on shore were murdered by the natives, and then leaping into the water swam towards the ship, the men on board presenting their muskets and thereby deterring the natives from picking her up, by which means she reached the vessel and was taken on board: that the said woman informed the deponent that the Captain and boat's crew had been murdered on shore; upon which information he ordered the natives to be fired upon, and saw two fall in one of the canoes; that he immediately directed the cables might be cut, and putting out to sea, shaped his course for Port Jackson, where he arrived in 19 days without incident.

The deponent further states, that when getting under way, and sheeting home his top-gallant sails, he heard two muskets fired on shore, but cannot take upon himself to say what produced this circumstance, further than that the white woman informed him that the Chief had told her it should be done, to induce him (the deponent) to believe the people were alive and well on shore.

Elizabeth Morey, being sworn, says that she lived with the Chief's wife on the Island of Tongataboo, and that on or about the 30th September, she understood that a ship had arrived at the Island—she then residing at the opposite side thereof; that one of the natives had come over for the purpose of bringing the Malay, who was known by the name of Charley, to go on board her; that three days after the vessel's arrival she was sent for by the Chief, to converse with one of the white boys that had come on shore, from whom she learnt the ship's name, that she was from New York, and that the Captain and several of her people were on shore; that the Chief desired her to go off to the vessel, and endeavour to get some more of her boats on shore; that she went off in a canoe as she was ordered, accompanied by the Malay, with five other canoes, and did as she was directed, being afraid to do otherwise; but, from the conversation she had overheard among the natives previous to their going off, she was satisfied that the greater part of those who had gone on shore were murdered; but being assiduously watched by the Malay (Charley), she could not communicate her information to the officers on board the ship except by signs which she had used, unconscious at the time whether they were regarded by them or not; that she again went on shore, and told the chief what she had done. That upon the morning following she was again sent for by the Malay, who informed her that she was again to go off to the ship to repeat her former message, and endeavour to get on shore some of her people: That she went off accordingly, accompanied by four canoes in one of which was Charley the Malay: and on coming near the ship she stood up in the head of the canoe in which she was, she called to the people on board, informing them that their comrades were all murdered by the natives on shore, then jumped overboard and swam for the ship, calling to the people to fire on them in the canoes, which they afterwards did: that she heard the two muskets fired on shore, which she knew was done by order of the Chief, as he had told her he would do so before she left the shore, to induce the boats the more readily to leave the ship, from an idea that Europeans were on shore, firing for a boat.

Thomas Dordon, a seaman, being sworn, says that he left Norfolk Island in the "Union"¹ with Captain Pendleton that he

¹ The "Union" had stopped at Norfolk Island on her way, and had been allowed there to dispose of a quantity of spirits which were not permitted to be sold at Port Jackson; and had shipped several men from that place, to navigate the "Fair American," which ship was to meet the "Union" during the voyage.

touched at the Island of Tongataboo—and corroborates in every part the depositions given by Mr Wright, the Chief Officer, and that part of Elizabeth Morey's evidence respecting the natives having murdered the people from the ship; But adds that when the natives were turned out of the ship by Mr Wright, they went on shore apparently in a violent passion.

Gilbert Grant, a sailor on board the "Union," corroborates the above in every particular.

Sworn before us, this 26th
day of October, 1804.

GEORGE JOHNSTON.
JOHN HARRIS.

S.G. No. 88, Nov. 4, 1804. Doyle is supposed to have been one of the brig's crew¹ that was unfortunately wrecked on some of the islands, between three and four years since, whose people were distributed, and the major part afterwards inhumanly murdered by the natives. The brig had sailed from Canton for this Colony (N.S.W.) and belonged to Mr Berry of Canton. One of her surviving hands had the good fortune to be brought away by Captain Read, in the ship "Plomer," after a residence among the savages of two and twenty months.

This man, whose name is Slater, was shipped by Capt. Farrell of Manilla, and was one of the "Fair American's" complement when she arrived here (Port Jackson); but sailed from hence in the "Marcia," Captain Aicken.

Three of the "Union's" people who accompanied Capt. Pendleton and Mr Boston on shore at Tongataboo, and are too plausibly conjectured to have fallen victims to the treachery of the natives, were stout, able, young men shipped at Norfolk Island, the names of whom were Edward Davis, Thos. Aplin and Alexander Major.

S.G. (contd), No. 88, Nov. 4, 1804. A Short Description of the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants of TONGATABOO.

Collected from a Person between two and three years resident among them².

This Island, which is one of the group denominated the Friendly Islands, is situated close to Happee and Anamoie³ with the inhabitants of either or both of which they are generally involved in war; in consequence of which, the population of all the islands has suffered considerably, and is at present by no means extensive.

¹ *I.e.* the "Argo."

² *I.e.* from Elizabeth Morey.

³ Haapai Islands and Anamuka (Nomuka of the *Admiralty Sailing Directions*).

Of this island Ducava is acknowledged the principal Chief, and is universally respected as such; but he is not, however, without a competitor in the person of a younger brother who, without disputing, seems to be invested with the first executive power, and shares his Kinsman's dignity.

The subjects of this dingy potentate are admitted to a plurality of wives, though few, if any, extend the licence further than a pair; and this custom seems to be established on a principle of policy, as the number of females exceeds that of the opposite sex in a two-fold proportion, owing to an unrelaxed depopulation consequent on destructive usages and perpetual warfare. Estranged to any religious sentiment or notion yet superstitious prejudices prevail among them in common with the inhabitants of other countries to which the torch of reason has not yet extended its illuminating ray. Obstinate refusing to credit the possible existence of any other country than their own, they adopt by common consent the strange and ludicrous supposition that such European visitors as have, in too many instances unfortunately, touched at their inhospitable spot have fallen in a state of exile from the clouds, and still retain the power of exciting thunder. Devoid of every idea that could be productive of a probable inference, they regard a European with a jealous eye, because his difference of complexion implies some thing preternatural; but as wanton barbarity and a monstrous plea of necessity are alike admitted in justification of homicide, their cannibal voracity, regardless of complexion, reduces all within their power to one unhappy level. To such an extent (as our information is) do they carry the abominable propensity, that upon every visitation of famine or extreme scarcity occasioned by an unfavourable season, they forsake their habitations and fortify themselves in caverns, as the only means of preservation against each other when in stronger parties prowling at midnight in search of prey. At such a season none dares to venture out by night alone, lest he should behold his friends and family no more: but this is the *dernier resort*, and is admissible only in the last extremity. Upon their prisoners of war they exercise every inhuman torture, and afterwards greedily solace upon the wretched victim; and frequently even boasted that those of the Portland's unfortunate crew whom they treacherously inveigled and murdered on their shore served to assuage their inordinate and cursed appetites.

The black woman mentioned in Mrs Morey's deposition to have escaped the massacre with herself, was afterwards carried off by the natives of Anamoie.

Their general deportment towards each other is not, however,

forbidding or austere; their sports are athletic, and their persons nervous, they clothe partially, and never appear in a state of perfect nudity which would not be permitted by their Chiefs. Their war weapons consist of the bow and arrow, spear and club. Their canoes are numerous and variously constructed; those used in the ordinary purpose of ferrying and fishing are small, but dexterously managed: and their war boats, which possess much regularity of form, are very large and commodious. One of these, we are informed, was launched during the short period of the "Union's" stay, and was reported capable of containing 300 men. The island produces vegetables, yams, cocoa nuts, plantains and bananas in tolerable abundance when favoured by the season, besides which the natives hold in high estimation the flesh of a small sized animal of the dog kind¹, which many prefer to the finest fish.

When consistent with safety they reside in huts open on one or two sides, and roofed with the plantain leaf, laid firmly on cocoanut branches as rafters, and were they as studious in improving the gifts of nature as their own perfidy of disposition and manner, no doubt can be entertained that they might have lived a happy people, and maintained to the spot of their nativity an exalted rank among the Friendly Islanders.

NOTICE².

The Commander of the ship "Union" being in distress for Men to proceed on his destined voyage, and having His Excellency the Governor's permission for that purpose, requests and desires Americans in this Port forthwith to apply to him, when they will immediately receive a Bounty on Entering, and meet such suitable encouragement as they shall merit. The ship will sail positively on or before Thursday next.

Ship "Union,"
Port Jackson, Novr. 4.

S.G. No. 88, Nov. 4, 1804. The subtile³ wretch Charley the Malay was servant to Captain Mellon, but found means to escape the massacre.

¹ Mariner [1, 265] refers to the King of Vavao's order for the destruction of the too numerous dogs—originally introduced by European ships.

² Evidently by that time service on ships bound for "the Islands" was not attractive; and in the case of the "Union" events fully justified the prejudice.

³ The *Oxford Concise Dictionary* gives "subtile" as an archaic form of "subtle."

INTERESTING PARTICULARS Relative to Captain Mellon of the ship "Portland," communicated by a Gentleman.

Captain Mellon sailed from Manilla about the latter end of April, 1800, in a brig belonging to Mr John Stewart Kerr, American Consul at Manilla; his instructions were to dispose of the cargo, and purchase in return such commodities as were adapted to the Manilla market, having a letter of credit to an amount of twenty thousand dollars, the better to enable him to load the vessel.

On his arrival at Batavia he sold the cargo, and, contrary to his instructions, the brig also: by letter informing Mr Kerr of the transaction; and of his having purchased a ship about 400 tons burthen called the "Portland" but requesting not to be expected at Manilla before he should actually return. The letter of credit he likewise made use of; and this was afterwards presented to, and necessarily taken up by, Mr Kerr, a worthy and respectable gentleman. The "Portland" was taken up by the Dutch Company at Batavia, to proceed to Serra Bay for a cargo of rice. Captain Mellon proceeded thither accordingly, and took in the freight; but, instead of returning to Batavia, went on to the Isle of France, and there disposed of the cargo. The next accounts received at Manilla concerning him, stated that he had been at the Cape of Good Hope, and had left the place clandestinely, with intention as was supposed, of proceeding to the North-West Coast of America—It would however appear, from the deposition of Elizabeth Morey given in last week's publication, that his real intention was to go to Lima, in the way thither he touched for refreshments at the Island of Tongataboo, and there fell a victim with most of his crew, to the barbarity of the natives, stimulated by the hope of plunder,—and perhaps by the council of the villain Doyle.

S.G. No. 89, Nov. 11, 1804. Three of the "Union's" people who accompanied Captain Pendleton and Mr Boston on shore at Tongataboo, and are too plausibly conjectured to have fallen victims to the treachery of the natives were stout, able young men, shipped at Norfolk Island, the names of whom were Edward Davis, Thos. Aplin, and Alexander Major.

The American ships "Fair American" and "Union" both dropped down and are expected to sail this day.

S.G. No. 90, Nov. 18, 1804. The ships "Union" and "Fair American" sailed on Monday last (Nov. 12)¹.

¹ This was the last news of the "Union," now under Captain Wright. She is supposed to have been wrecked on Koro, in the Fiji Islands—see next entry. As to the concerted movements of the "Fair American" and the "Union," see Introduction.

S.G. No. 113, April 28, 1805. Yesterday evening arrived in the Cove, having lain several days previous in Broken Bay, wind-bound, the "Marcia," Captain Aikin, from the northward. It was very generally reported on this vessel's arrival, that the American ship "Union," formerly commanded by the unfortunate Captain Pendleton whose fate it was, in company with Mr Boston, to fall a sacrifice to the treachery of the natives at Tongataboo, had since been totally lost on some of the neighbouring Islands. Mr Aikin, so far from affirming an event to have positively taken place, the possibility of which impresses the mind with a deep sense of melancholy as to the fate of the persons on board, speaks only from the report of some of the natives of a small island called *Gorah*¹, by whom it was given to understand that a ship had been wrecked there; but as not a single vestige was to be seen, we scarcely (sincerely?) join Mr Aikin in the hope that the report was fictitious.

S.G. No. 174, July 13, 1806:

PHILIP GIDLEY KING.

Whereas, notwithstanding the General Orders² of this Territory dated the 11th of August, 1804, prohibiting any of His Majesty's Subjects leaving this Port in Foreign Ships or Vessels during the present War, and the Governor's positive refusal of James Aiken and other British Subjects shipping themselves on board the "Criterion" American ship in May 1805; and the precaution taken in requiring Bonds from the Commander of the "Harriet," British Whaler, not to allow the said James Aiken, or other British Subjects shipped in the "Harriet" for England, to go on board the "Criterion" or other foreign vessel on this side of Cape Horn: Yet the event has proved that the said James Aiken was removed from the "Harriet" to the "Criterion" a few days after their departure, and that he proceeded in that vessel to the Fejee Islands within the limits of this Territory³, where a cargo of Sandal Wood was procured and taken to Canton, from whence a quantity of Tea and other goods were brought to this Port in the "Criterion," James Aiken being on board.

¹ The Island of Koro.

² See page 180 *ante*.

³ The original Commission (by George III) to Captain Arthur Phillip as first Governor of New South Wales gives jurisdiction over "our territory called New South Wales extending from the Northern Cape... called Cape York...to the southern extremity of the said Territory of New South Wales really the South Cape of Tasmania (see note, page 5 *ante*) including all the islands adjacent in the Pacific Ocean within the latitude of 10° 37' south and 43° 39' south" (H.R.A. Series I, vol. I, p. 1).

As this proceeding took place in direct contempt of the General Order of the 11th of August, 1804, and the Honourable East India Company's Chartered Rights as secured to them by an Act of the British Legislature, and the XIIth Article of His Majesty's Instructions to the Governor of this Territory, every British Subject is forbid entering into any Mercantile Contract with the Subjects of Foreign Powers, on pain of being sent from the Colony.

And it is to be understood by the Supercargoes and Masters of Foreign Vessels "That no intercourse whatever will be allowed "of between this Colony and the Honourable East India Company's "Territories, and the Coasts of China and Islands adjacent there- "unto, where European nations resort": Nor will any articles, the produce of those countries, be allowed to be imported by Foreign vessels, returning after being cleared out from hence, without being subject to the restrictions laid on the "Criterion" American Ship now in this Port which cannot be allowed to land any part of her cargo being interdicted by a positive law.

Given under my hand at Government House, Sydney, this 12th day of July, 1806.

GOD SAVE THE KING!

S.G. No. 189, of Oct. 26, 1806. On Friday arrived the Spanish ship "Santa Ana," prize to the British ship "Port au Prince," having been cut out of San Blas. From the information of Mr McLearn, the Prize-Master, we are also to expect the Spanish brig "St Tesidore"¹, prize to the same ship taken off Acapulco, and laden with cocoa.

S.G. No. 193 of Nov. 23, 1806. Condemnation of the "Sta Ana" in the Sydney Court, as prize to Captain Isaac Duck of the "Port au Prince," taken without resistance in lat: 21° 30' N., long: 105° W.

S.G. No. 212, April 5, 1807. A General Order forbidding masters of vessels to "embark any natives of the South Sea for England"; and requiring "Master and owner of any ship that "brings any such native to any Port in N.S.W. or its Dependencies "to be answerable for such native's maintenance while there and "for his return to whence he was brought so soon as an opportunity "shall occur, under a penalty of £20 for every such breach, besides "the cost of maintenance in the Colony of those who may be kept "there contrary to this Regulation."

¹ I.e. San Isodore.

S.G. No. 228, May 15, 1808. A gentleman lately from China states his information from an American Captain there, a certain Captain Farrell, of Manilla, was about fitting out a large ship for the Feejees¹, to be accompanied by a small vessel of about 50 tons. Such is the information, and what the design of the expedition may be can only be a matter of conjecture. At all events it would be prudent in our vessels resorting thither, to be on their guard against any hostile intention, as it is not impossible that the above vessels will be under Spanish colours.

S.G. No. 256, Nov. 27, 1808. On Monday (Nov. 21) arrived the American brig "Favourite," from the Feejees, under command of Mr Fisk, Captain Campbell remaining at the Islands, whither he will shortly return. Captain Dalrymple, whose ship the "General Wellesley" from Penang lay wooding at the Feejees, accompanied the intended trip hither, but died within four days sail of this Port. On her passage from Penang the "Wellesley" lost upwards of twenty of her hands by sickness; and we regret to add that Mr Owen Bunker, formerly master of the Honduras Packet, was also numbered among the dead².

By the "Favourite" has arrived Mr Kable junr., from China by the way of Penang; the "Hannah and Sally," in which he proceeded to Canton, having been there sold and afterwards taken to the Cape.

Several of the Chiefs at the Feejees appear determined, as we are informed, to annoy as much as possible every vessel that arrives there; in which mischievous inclination the Chief of Boogea (Vuya), whose name is Bullandam³ appears most to have distinguished himself. This is in a great measure attributed to the unfavourable representation of strangers who have been left among the islands, by accident or design. Among these is a European who formerly belonged to the "Wellesley," and is known only by the name of "Peter"⁴; and another, here formerly well known by the name of "Black Jemmy" once a servant to the late Captain Aiken, whom he served with diligence and fidelity.

The American ship "Jenny" had left the Islands⁵ before the

¹ It is difficult to identify this alleged second venture of Captain Farrell of the "Fair American" to the Fijis—perhaps it never came off.

² See p. 39 note.

³ Mbuli Ndama, who, as Tui Vuya, was one of the "four Kings" referred to by Lockerby. See also p. 21.

⁴ "Peter" has again and again been recorded as the name by which the natives of Fiji knew Peter Dillon; e.g. see Captain George Bayly's *Sea Life Sixty Years Ago*, p. 10. But Dillon is not known to have been in Fiji till he went there in 1809, in the "Mercury," Captain Siddons.

⁵ This was the first intimation received at Port Jackson that the "Jenny" had sailed for China, and had left Lockerby stranded in Fiji.

“Wellesley” arrived, leaving behind Mr Lockerby, her Chief Officer, who experienced the most rigorous usage¹ from the natives, who spared his life as is more than probably conjectured, with a view to exacting a considerable price for his enlargement at some future period, but was at length rescued from their barbarity by the intrepidity of Captain Campbell and his ship’s company.

S.G. No. 256, Nov. 27, 1808. List of persons who had received permits to leave the Colony to join the “General Wellesley” at the Feejee Islands, and were about proceeding thither in the brig “Trial”:

Mr James Ceroni, Patrick Connell², John Silveiter, George Stokes, William Justermond, John Glover, Alexander Seaton, James Neuth, Charles Sutherland, Michael Doyle, George Ellis.

S.G. No. 257, Dec. 4, 1808, notifies that the following may leave the Colony in the brig “Trial”:

Mr H. Kable junr., James Tate, Theodore Walker, Seth Barton, Jesse Hotchkess, Manuel Fonsacre, Manassah Cane, Jeremiah Laws, Wm Monsel, John Antonio, Janus Josephus, Francisco de Cruz, Miguel Anthonio de Rosario.

To join the “General Wellesley” at Feejee:

John de Croix, Thomas Harris, George Shirley, Patrick Connell.

S.G. No. 258, Dec. 11, 1808. On the 7th of Octr. last, which was shortly after the arrival at the Feejees of the “Favourite,” Captain Campbell, Mr Thomas Smith, his second officer, was unexpectedly made prisoner by the natives, with seven others of the ship’s company, and remained nine days in captivity; during which interval he experienced and witnessed horrors, from his narrative of which the following account is accurately deduced³.

It begins with stating that on the 7th of October he went from Sandal Wood Bay to the Bay of Highlea with three boats, in quest of sandal-wood, one of which, the ship’s long boat, he commanded; another, a whale boat, was under the command of Mr Lockerby, formerly chief officer of the American ship “Jenny”: and the third under Mr Graham, who had fortunately returned laden to the vessel in time to escape the calamities that fell upon the former two.

¹ It is quite clear from Lockerby’s own account that he was very hospitably and generously treated by the natives until, in his over-zealous collection of sandalwood, he gravely injured them.

² The afterwards notorious “Paddy Connel” who remained in Fiji for thirty years, told his story to Commander Wilkes in 1840, and died in 1841 at Mbatiki; see Wilkes: *U.S.A. Expl. Exped.* III, 68 and 361.

³ Cf. Lockerby’s account of this affair, p. 40 *et seq.*

At Highlea he heard that Bullandam, the Chief of the district of Buya, was expected with a force to make war upon the Island of Taffera, or Taffeia, and that it was the intention of the *Highleans*¹ to aid his enterprise. The next morning the two boats prepared to return to the vessel, but were cut off by Bullandam's fleet of canoes, 140 in number, orderly advancing in a semi-circle; and finding it impossible to pass them, it was considered advisable to bear up to the fleet, hoping by such display of confidence to preserve the lives of the crews. When within hail they were ordered to advance; but the whale-boat was prevented, by an immensely large canoe bearing down and running aboard, cutting her in two. Mr Lockerby and the crew were picked up and made prisoners, and Mr Smith and the longboat's people were made prisoners likewise. The captors were about to dispatch some of the people with their spears and clubs, but were prevented by the Chief commanding the canoe, until the superior Chief should be consulted. When presented to Bullandam he proposed to employ them in his intended assault against Taffere², in which he proposed to himself much assistance from their muskets and seemed greatly disappointed when informed that the powder was spoilt, and the guns useless. He had no wish however to commit any personal injuries on his prisoners; but on the contrary, showed some attention to Mr Smith, whom he respected as an officer, and generally invited to accompany him when he went on shore: always endeavouring to sooth his apprehensions and quiet his solicitude of returning with his companions to the ship, by an assurance that as soon as the Island of Taffere was subjugated, and its inhabitants destroyed, he would employ all his subjects in procuring wood for the vessel, to which they should be returned in safety.

On the 11th of October, the junction of forces being thoroughly arranged, an immense fleet of canoes sailed from Highlea for the expedition; and, having a fresh head wind, the canoes were set to windward by poles, at the rate of three knots an hour. At night this formidable armament came to, round the north east part of the island; and Bullandam took Mr Smith on shore to pass the night with him, his night guard consisting of ten men armed with spears and arrows.

Early in the morning of the 12th the whole of the army returned to their canoes; which, on a signal from Bullandam set forward in complete [two or more lines clipped in binding].....was made

¹ "Highleans," *i.e.* people of Wailea.

² "Taffere" is Tavea.

with arrows at a distance; and as the canoes of Taffere maintained their position, they soon closed, when a desperate and stubborn conflict with spears commenced. The islanders however at length gave way to numbers very far superior, and to escape an otherwise certain destiny all leaped into the water and swam towards the shore, from which a division of Bullandam's fleet was endeavouring to cut them off. The canoes were taken possession of with only one captive, an unfortunate boy who, being presented to the relentless Chief, was ordered to be slaughtered, as it was his determination that not a single life should be spared. This ruthless sentence was immediately executed with a club, three blows from which the youthful sufferer endured, and then expired—the body was afterwards given into the charge of an attendant to be roasted for the Chief and his principal associates:—The horrors that immediately succeeded the defeat, the most sensible imagination can but faintly represent. A massacre was determined on, and, as the men had escaped the fury of their conquerors, by flight, the women and children became the chief object of search—on which mission a canoe was despatched and, unhappily, the fatal discovery was very soon made. On a signal from the shore numbers landed, and a hut was set fire to, probably as a signal for the work of destruction to commence. Within a cluster of mangroves the devoted wretches had taken sanctuary;—many might undoubtedly have saved themselves by accompanying the flight of their vanished husbands and relatives, could they have consented to a separation from their helpless children; who were no less devoted than themselves. A dreadful yell was the forerunner of the assault: the ferocious monsters rushed upon them with their clubs, and without regard to sex or infancy promiscuously butchered all. Some who still had life and motion were treated as dead bodies, which were mostly dragged to the beach by one of their limbs, and through the water into the canoes; their groans were disregarded and their unheeded protracted sufferings were still more hurtful to the feelings of humanity than even the general massacre itself had been:—Among the slaughtered were some few men whose age perhaps had prevented their flight; but in fact, so sudden and so dreadful was the consternation that succeeded the defeat of the unhappy natives of Taffere, as no doubt to paralyze the minds of the wretched creatures when prompt consideration could alone be serviceable to their deplorable condition. The conquerors appeared to anticipate with inordinate delight the festival with which this sad event had gratified their horrible expectation. Forty-two bodies were extended on one platform in Bullandam's canoe; and one of them, a young female, appearing most to

attract his attention, he desired that his second in command would have it lain (*sic*) by for themselves.

The Tafferians being wholly defeated and dispersed, the island was taken possession of (by) Bullandam's forces, which were very numerous. This principal chief invited Mr Smith on shore, as he seemed inclined to show him favour;—and Mr Smith declares it to be one of the most beautiful places he had ever seen; the houses, in number about a hundred, ranged on the declivity of a hill, interspersed with cocoanut, bread fruit and other trees; and each house defended with a wall of piled stones. The buildings were, however, all set fire to by Bullandam's order; and Mr Smith becoming solicitous for his release, was informed by the Chief that as soon as all the victims were devoured he should be set at liberty with his companions. The dead bodies were got into the canoes, and the whole fleet left Taffere, on their return to the main-island; where many others joined in the horrible festivity, which was conducted with rude peals of acclamation. Mr Smith, was, on this occasion also, taken on shore by the great Chief; and here had again to experience a detestable spectacle. The bodies had been dismembered of their limbs; which were suspended on the boughs of trees in readiness for cooking and afterwards part of a human leg was offered to Mr Smith who had never broke his fast for five days.—The offer he rejected with abhorrence; and upon his captors appearing astonished at the refusal, he gave them to understand, that if he ate of human flesh he would instantly die. They were satisfied with this excuse; and continued their abominable revelry the whole night.

On the 15th the Chief in the canoe that captured Mr Smith's boat applied to Bullandam for [the prisoners, and the long boat, in order to return them to their ship, declaring his intention to demand three whale-teeth and twelve hatchets for their ransom, but this proposal¹] was not then attended to.—twenty or thirty men then arrived at the place of rendezvous, each bringing a basket of human flesh half roasted, which made Mr Smith learned they took to preserve it.—The day of deliverance at length approached from a captivity the most afflicting, from a diversity of causes, that man could be exposed to; and after enduring it nine days, and totally fasting six, he was at length turned over to the charge of the Chief of Niri, with orders to demand the ransom for himself and 6 of his companions. But previous to quitting

¹ In the British Museum copy, the only one found accessible, the top-lines have been cut off by the binder; but the missing words have been supplied—within brackets—from John Turnbull's *Voyage Round the World in 1804*, 2nd ed., 1813, p. 513.

the voracious party a new incident occurred:—One of the unfortunate inhabitants of Taffere had swam from his distressed island to the main, but was perceived as soon as he gained the shore, and was in consequence pursued by a multitude, armed with bows and arrows, spears and clubs. The pursuit terminated with the life of the wretched fugitive, whose body presented a new source of exultation and cannibal festivity.

On the 16th Mr Smith was restored to his overjoyed shipmates, with all of his companions except two, one of whom was Mr Lockerby, who were afterwards indebted for their rescue to a determined perseverance in the Captain, his officers and people, which was highly creditable and meritorious. Mr Smith, Mr Lockerby and all the others had been repeatedly on the very point of assassination, to which these people seem to possess no kind of repugnance whatsoever; it appearing their chief object of delight.

Their determined obstinacy in effecting every thing they attempt can alone be equalled by the extraordinary precision of their arrangements, which are planned methodically and are executed with an energy and calmness that surprise even an European. With strength of body, they possess a thorough contempt of danger and a heedlessness of pain. Their present conqueror, Bullandam, has already become terrible and bids fair to possess him of the sole sovereignty of the islands. But though implacable and sanguinary in his resentments, yet we are assured that in his disposition strong traces of kindness were perceptible towards all except the enemies of his arms.

These people are avaricious, and from the foregoing account must be considered insatiably cruel. Their numbers, no less than the leading traits of their character, render them formidable to an incompetent power of defence: so that in all respects it becomes the duty of vessels trading thither to be no less cautious than at Tongataboo, the natives of which are, indeed, the less dangerous, as they are less powerful and less numerous.

A.A.R. vol. x, 1808, p. 35. Bengal Occurrences: Sept. 3.
"Accounts immediately received from Bencoolen convey information of the safety of the ship 'Duchess of York,' Captain Forrest, of Calcutta, considered as a missing ship for upwards of six months.

"The 'Duchess of York' sailed from Calcutta for Port Jackson, in New South Wales, nearly twenty months ago, and arrived in safety at her destination. Thence she proceeded to the Feejee Islands in quest of a cargo of sandal wood, which having attained

"she returned to Port Jackson, and again sailed on the same voyage early in January last¹.

"Having completed her second cargo of sandal wood, Captain Forrest sailed from the Feejee Islands on the 30th of March, and endeavoured to get to China, for which market his sandal wood was intended, by (the) Eastern route: but from the lateness of the season, after fruitlessly persevering for nearly three months, he found it necessary to bear up to make his passage to China by the Straits of Malacca. On passing the west coast of Sumatra, he touched at Bencoolen, and after a very short stay, sailed in prosecution of his voyage to Canton, on the 2nd of last month.

"The Feejee Islands, mentioned in a preceding paragraph, are probably but little known to the general reader; as it is very recently that they have been brought into notice. Captain Forrest is not, perhaps the very first Englishman who has visited these islands though he is certainly the first of his countrymen who has carried thither a British ship² for the purpose of trade, a fact which certainly reflects credit on Captain Forrest and the owners of the 'Duchess of York' and which may be noticed with the more satisfaction at the present time, when, from the benumbed and stagnant condition of the East India country trade in general, additional value is conferred on every new opening, however circumscribed, of employment for mercantile ships. "Mr Campbell³ of Port Jackson, a gentleman connected with very

¹ The "Duchess of York," Captain Austin Forrest (192 tons, 14 guns and 25 men) must have left Calcutta in January, 1807. She reached Port Jackson on the 6th of April following (H.R., N.S.W. VI, 271), cleared thence, nominally "for Bengal" but really "for the Feejees" on the 6th May (*ib.* p. 272); got back to Port Jackson on 26th of October, with 65 tons of sandalwood (*ib.* 404), which she deposited at that port, and again cleared from Port Jackson, in ballast, for Canton (*ib.* 405). It is evident from the above that after the second clearance she again called at the Fijis, carrying a present from Mr Robert Campbell to the Chiefs of Fiji of sheep and other valuable articles. There appears to be no record in the *Sydney Gazette*, nor elsewhere, of the actual experience of this ship in the islands, but this is probably due to the fact that her visits were quite at the beginning of the sandalwood "rush," and while those who knew of this valuable commodity to be got from the Sandalwood Islands were still anxious to keep their knowledge to themselves. It should be observed that the "Duchess of York" left Fiji for the second time on the 30th of March 1808, some months before the "Jenny" reached Mbua. It is just possible that the King of Mbua's wooden house (see p. 25) was among the "valuable presents" conveyed by the "Duchess of York."

² The "Duchess of York" was built, registered and owned at Calcutta. The above statement takes no account of the visit of the "Marcia" to the Fiji Islands—she being a Colony ship from Port Jackson.

³ Robert Campbell, a prominent merchant at Port Jackson.

"large commercial establishments, which, on various occasions, "have afforded substantial benefit to the British Colonies in "Austral Asia, had forwarded by Captain Forrest, on his second "voyage to the Feejee Islands, a valuable breed of sheep, and some "other articles, as presents to the two Chiefs of the Islands, by "whom they were most graciously received. This mark of attention "will tend to confirm the favourable opinion which these new "acquaintances had formed of the British character."

P.W.I.G. No. 127, July 30, 1808. The brig "Duchess of York," Captain Austin Forrest, arrived in the harbour yesterday, four months from the Sandel Island¹.

Ibid. No. 130, Aug. 20, 1808. The brig "Duchess of York," Captain Forrest, will sail for Bengal direct, on Sunday next.

Ibid. No. 132, Sept. 3, 1808. The brig "Duchess of York," Captain Forrest, having sold her cargo at this place², sailed for Bengal direct on Saturday.

S.G. No. 263, Jan. 15, 1809. The "Trial" sailed from Sydney for the "Feejees" on 12th January, 1809.

S.G. No. 268, Feb. 19, 1809. On Thursday, 14th arrived the brig "Favourite," Captain Campbell, from the Feejees, with upwards of 100 tons of sandal wood.—She left at the islands the "General Wellesley," and the American ship "Tonquin," Captain Bromley, who was formerly here in the "Hope." We some time since had occasion to notice the unfriendly disposition of the natives of the Feejee Islands, and we are sorry to observe that they continue in the same temper, and suffer no opportunity to escape of obstructing our trade thither. The Chief Bullandam has, it seems, withdrawn himself for the present, owing, as it is supposed, to the severe manner in which his fleets have been handled by the trading vessels they had attacked, but others, imitating his example, continue the necessity to be guarded against assault. A severe skirmish had taken place shortly before the "Favourite" came away, between the natives of Tatterlip and the crews of the "Favourite" and "Tonquin," in which the natives lost 110 men, and the "Favourite" had one man killed, whose name was Thomas Berry, and had been shipped here. The inhabitants of this place could have been but little acquainted with the destructive efficacy of fire arms when they made the

¹ *I.e.* Mbua Bay in Vanua Levu.

² She sold her sandalwood at Penang (Prince of Wales' Island) and sailed thence on Sunday, August 27, 1808, for Bengal.

attack—but when convinced, appeared desirous of a reconciliation, which was readily embraced: and on the next visit they heaped presents of fruit and vegetables beside the guns which they worshipped, in dread of their displeasure. This is the only remarkable circumstance reported to have attended the voyage.

The "Mercury" was at the back part of the Bay of Islands, on her passage to the Feejees, ten days before the "Favourite" touched there on her way thither.

S.G. No. 269, Feb. 26, 1809.—On Monday (20th) arrived from the Feejees with sandal-wood the "Perseverance" commanded by Mr Kerremgard, formerly Chief Officer, who succeeded to the command of the vessel by the death of Captain Faulkner; an event sensibly to be regretted from the very great estimation in which he was universally held by all who knew him.

S.G. No. 272, March 19, 1809.—same day (15th) arrived the brig "Fox," Captain Cox, with between 13 and 14,000 skins, and 190 whale's teeth, which are of considerable importance in our trade to the Feejees.

S.G. No. 275, April 9, 1809. On the 27th ult. sailed the "Perseverance" for the Feejees.

S.G. No. 292, Aug. 6, 1809. On Sunday last (July 30th) arrived the "Mercury," Mr Siddons, master, from the Feejees with a cargo of fine sandal-wood, about 35 tons. The "Wellesley" had left a few days before the "Mercury" with 300 tons of wood; and the "Perseverance," "Trial" and "Favourite" were getting in cargoes when she came away. The "Mercury" put in among the Tongataboo islands, to water, where a plan was formed by the natives of Vavou to surprise the crew and take the vessel; but which was frustrated by vigilence and caution. The master was apprised of the plan by an European who is in the confidence of the head Chief's brother who upon his accompanying this second Chief along side, called to the master and directed him not to admit any of the natives on board nor by any means to come to anchor: previous to which, however, one of them, who spoke a little English, informed Mr Siddons he had been in an English vessel, advised him not to allow his people to trade with his countrymen, as they were very treacherous, and to be most careful that no clubs were bartered for, as they would otherwise be surprised in an unguarded moment and assassinated with the very weapons they had purchased as curiosities.

The European, whose name was Blake¹, and the sub-chief went on board, and the latter assured Mr Siddons of his protection; but his brother was of so treacherous and inhuman a disposition, and his adherents so very numerous and powerful, that it would require every possible caution to escape his cruel determination, which was by friendly overtures to ensnare, and then to murder, all the people.

Blake informed Mr Siddons also that he was one of the crew of the "Port au Prince," privateer, of 32 guns, commanded by Captain Brown, which between two and three years since had been captured by the natives of these islands (the Vavous²), where the Captain and between thirty and forty of the crew who were on board, were murdered: himself and twenty-four others who had gone on shore being spared, and the greater part of them dispersed about the different islands. He stated that the plan for attacking the "Port au Prince" had been directed by a native of O-why-ee, who, speaking good English, had first gone on board and represented the natives as a hospitable people, from whom he would obtain every refreshment he was in want of—but at the same time advised him to clear away his boarding-pikes and small arms, as the natives were very timid owing to some severe treatment they had formerly experienced from a Manilla vessel: with which the Captain unfortunately complied. This villain had afterwards the address to persuade the Captain to accompany him on shore, leaving the ship full of natives, and fewer than half the ship's company on board: that soon after he landed he was beat down by clubs, and left supposed to be dead; but, rising again, a number of the wretches returned and perfected the murder of this unfortunate gentleman, immediately after which they set up a loud shout as a sign for the massacre to begin on board; and not one escaped. They afterwards ran the vessel on shore and burnt her for the iron work, many of her stores still remaining, and several of her guns advantageously planted under the direction of the O-why-eean: the information of which induced Mr Siddons prudently to keep out of reach of their fire. Blake undertook to furnish the vessel with water, and for this purpose took one of her boats, in which he was accompanied by the friendly native who first cautioned him, and one of the crew. At this time they

¹ Mariner, in his account of the survivors of the crew of the "Port au Prince," says: "Nicholas Blake, seaman (and three others) refused to leave the Hapai Islands under various pretences" (*Account of the Tonga Islands*, II, 77).

² Vavau Islands are the northernmost of the Friendly Group; but here "the Vavous" is used as of the whole of that group.

supposed the vessel to be theirs, and desired Mr Siddons to come to an anchor: they pointing out a proper spot; but he still amused them with excuses until his boat returned, when, having all ready, in case of opposition, to force his passage through 60 or 70 canoes, he got his boat in and, crowding sail, left them equally astonished and enraged. He soon after saw a number of war canoes putting off from the shore to pursue him: but night fortunately coming on, he altered his course and escaped all further hazard.

S.G. No. 293, Aug. 13, 1809. On Thursday (Aug. 10th) arrived the brig "Trial," Captain Kable, full of sandal wood from the Feejees in 28 days: leaving at those islands the "Perseverance," "Favourite," and the "Hunter," Captain Robson, which latter made the islands ten days before the "Trial" left.

S.G. No. 294, Aug. 20, 1809. On Thursday arrived the brig "Favourite," Captain Fisk, from the Feejees, with a full cargo of sandal wood. He brings intelligence of the "City of Edinburgh's" arrival there; with an account also that Mr Berry and two of his boats with their crews had been made prisoners by the natives of some of the islands: who robbed them of the cloathes they wore, but offered no further violence. Intelligence is received by the "Lady Barlow" of the capture in the Indian Seas of the snow "Harrington," which was taken piratically from this port the 16th of May, 1808. The account states that she was fallen in with by the "Phoenix" frigate on her way towards Manilla, and Stuart and others taken out, many remaining in custody on board the "Harrington"; but unfortunately the vessel going on shore on the coast of Luconia, the prisoners once more effected an escape.

By the same channel information has been received of the safe arrival at China of the "Bon Ciudada" in six weeks with sandalwood from hence: which was likely to find a good market.

S.G. No. 295, Aug. 27, 1809. The American ship "Jenny," Captain Dorr, which sailed from Port Jackson in March, 1808, for the Feejees, is stated to be under detention by His Majesty's ship "Dover," owing, as it appears, from her having touched at Guam, which is one of the Phillipine Islands, "in contravention to the orders in Council of the 11th of November, 1807." The subjoined particulars relative to the ship "Jenny" we copy from an "Indian Gazette" of the 10th of April, therein stated to be communicated by Captain Dorr.

"The brig 'Eliza,' of Providence, captain Corey master, was "wrecked near the Feejee Islands in June last (1808) a little less "than a month after the 'Jenny' arrived. She was stranded as

"she was coming to the islands and had, of course, procured no
"sandal wood, and was nearly about 120 miles from the place
"where the 'Jenny' lay, Captain Corey, his two officers, two
"people, and a servant boy, came on board the 'Jenny,' and
"brought with them about 4000 dollars. Captain Corey requested
"I would send my boats to the wreck to save what they could.
"I did so, and they returned with about 4000 dollars more, making
"the whole sum received on the 'Jenny' from the wreck of the
"Eliza' 8000 and odd dollars with which, and the persons before
"mentioned belonging to the 'Eliza,' except one of her officers
"who went to Port Jackson, I proceeded on my voyage to China.
"The 'Jenny' lost her masts on her voyage to the Feejee Islands,
"and I was under the necessity of putting into the Island of Guam
"to get others, at which place Captain Corey and two men be-
"longing to the 'Eliza' left my ship. Captain Corey took with him
"all the specie belonging to the 'Eliza,' which was counted by the
"Governor of Guam, and for which there was a receipt granted.
"The other officer of the 'Eliza' is now on board the 'Jenny'¹."

S.G. No. 298, Sept. 17, 1809. On Friday (Sept. 15th) arrived the "Perseverance," Captain Kierumgaard, from the Feejees the 8th of Aug., having left there the ships "Hunter" and "City of Edinburgh." Passengers, Mr Ceronio, who went from hence in the "Edinborough" the 26th of last January. From this gentleman we learn that the "Edinburgh" ... (account of skirmish with the Maories at the Bay of Islands) in her way from the Bay of Islands visited the Friendly Islands, and from the natives of Tongataboo received the most civil usage. They supplied her with a number of hogs, yams, and breadfruit in barter; which indeed is their custom, until they get a vessel within their power: and then repeated instances have unhappily acquainted us with their inhuman treachery, against which it is impossible to use too much precaution.

¹ In the *P.W.I.G.* No. 184, Sept. 2, 1809, there is a full report of the "Jenny's" case in the Vice-Admiralty Court at Calcutta, heard on May 29, 1809. The offence was solely that she put into Guam, to procure new masts, and while there did some trading, which acts were a contravention of British Orders in Council, dated 11th of November, 1807, against entering enemy (Spanish) ports. Captain Dorr's defence was that, having been many months at sea in outlandish parts, neither he nor any of his officers was aware, or could have been aware, that any such order in Council was in force; and moreover that the "Jenny" was a neutral vessel and the subject of a neutral power. These points were over-ruled by the Court; and the Captain of the "Dover" was adjudged to have acted correctly in arresting the "Jenny," and would have done less than his duty if he had not arrested her.

The vessel afterwards touched at Opuna, one of the Prince Edward Islands¹, where Mr Berry and Mr Ceronio went on shore, and the ship blowing off, were obliged to remain all night. The King of Opuna treated his guests with much civility, as the two gentlemen had assured him of their intention to bring the vessel in for the purpose of opening an entire trade with the island, of which his Majesty being very desirous, he condescended to notice the strangers whom he entertained with hospitality ill according with his true character. The dingy monarch, delighted with the promises, invited his guests to supper, and lo! "two porkers smoked upon the board."

The next morning the vessel appeared in sight and the boat went off to her; and as Mr Berry considered he might make a purchase of some [hogs?] from these natives, he went on shore again with a few articles of trade, but was detained with his boat's crew as prisoners, until they should be ransomed from the vessel which had stretched towards Gora², about 30 miles to the S.W. of Opuna.

The natives with much persuasion permitted one man, with an Otaheite boy, to put off for the vessel with the intelligence: and night coming on when they were at a considerable distance from the land, with a heavy sea, two small paddles, and both totally exhausted with fatigue they lost all hope and resigned themselves to a momentarily expected fate, when, in the vessel's course in standing off and on, the little wretched vehicle was discovered almost close under her bows, and was with the utmost difficulty saved from being run down. Thus were the lives of these two people saved, and information was received of the situation of Mr Berry and his boat's crew, on hearing which Mr Ceronio went in a boat to their rescue, and succeeded in extricating Mr Berry and his men from a situation equally perilous and irksome.

C.G. (Supplement), March 30, 1809. Accounts were received yesterday at the Bankshall of the safe arrival in the river of the "Jenny," American prize, from the Eastward, under the convoy of H.M.S. "Dover." These ships sailed from China on the 5th ult. And Prince of Wales Island on the 2nd inst.

¹ Ceronio here used the name "Opuna" for Vuna, which is really the name of the western district of the island of Taveuni (Fiji), as though it were the name of that island as a whole. "Prince Edward Islands" can only be for "Prince William Islands," the name which Tasman gave to the islets of the Ringgold cluster, his sighting of which placed the Fijian islands on the chart for the first time.

² Koro.

C.G. Nos. 1339 and 1340, Oct. 26 and Nov. 2, 1809.

Advertisement by Messrs Tulloh and Co.

“For sale by Auction”

“The good ship ‘Jenny’”

“Condemned in the Honourable the Vice-Admiralty Court of Bengal, as a prize to H.M.S. ‘Dover,’ Captain Tucker. American built, burden about 200 tons, coppered to the bends. At their Rooms, on the 2nd of Novr. 1809 at 12 o’clock precisely, with all her stores.”

Also: The whole of the cargo of the prize ship “Jenny,” for sale by auction by Messrs Tulloh and Co. on Nov. 4th consisting of: 7633 billets of sandal wood weighing 2902 (bazaar maunds),

2510 deer’s horns	baz: maunds	35: 25: 8
17 bags biche de mar. A.		20: 29: 0
9 ditto. B.		9: 39: 0
26 ditto. C.		27: 0: 0
271 bags betel nut		131: 11: 0
57 seal skins.		
4 casks containing 287 gallons of rum.		

By Order of the British Agent.

Condemned in the Honourable the Vice-Admiralty Court of Bengal.

C.G. No. 1341, Nov. 9, 1809. The ship “General Wellesley,” Captain Henderson, arrived at Kedgeree on Nov. 6th, last from Penang, whence she sailed on October 20th.

At the time Capt. Dalrymple of the “General Wellesley” died, his supercargo was a Mr Scott who accompanied him in the brig “Favourite” from Fiji, bound for Sydney, to procure additional men for his reduced crew and a fresh stock of provisions.

S.G. No. 321, Feb. 24, 1810¹. From Captain Campbell we receive information of the “Hibernia” having struck on a reef forty or fifty miles from the mainland of Tackanova, on the N.E.

¹ Captain Campbell reports the arrival of the “Hibernia” at Sydney on 16th February (bringing the missionaries from Tahiti), having on board four tons of sandalwood; and that the American ship “Hope,” Captain Chace, from New York, was at Fiji, with no success, and only awaited the arrival of a schooner, also from New York, on the sandalwood speculation. This vessel had reached the Fijis before the “Hope” but had gone for Norfolk Island in consequence of having missed her. The “Hope” was reported to have “every possible article of trade in prompt demand by the natives of those islands” but had no prospect whatever of procuring any wood, which appeared to have been entirely cut down.

side, she being only the second vessel hitherto known to have been on that side of the island: (the "Perseverance" had been there before). The following particulars of the accident are quoted from the "Hibernia's" log-book:—

Nov. 10th, 1809, being in lat. $16^{\circ} 45'$ S., and long. $178^{\circ} 53'$ W., we saw an island, and at 2 p.m. passed it. At sunset another island was discovered from the mast-head, bearing W.N.W., 8 or 9 leagues; at 7 p.m. cast the schooner off and sent her ahead to carry a light, and in case of seeing any danger to fire a gun. At 8 we clewed up all our sails, and were then going at 2 knots, the schooner being half a mile ahead of us. At ten we struck on a reef, hauled our wind to the N., and made sail: at the same time the schooner made the signal for danger. Sounded in 3 fthms. water, wore round to the S.E. and deepened our water, and 5 minutes later had no soundings. Hauled up E.S.E., and ten minutes after sounded in 3 fthms. Wore round to the W., in the act of which she stuck fast. Finding it the tide of ebb, clewed all the sails up and hailed the schooner to come to anchor. Finding the vessel struck very hard, and doubting she would not be able to hold out until morning, especially when the tide of flood made, it was thought most advisable to get the boats out and send the passengers, and what provisions could be got at, on board the schooner; which was done: one of the whale-boats swamped alongside but no lives lost. Employed all night in getting stores on board the schooner and heaving ballast overboard.

At 4 a.m. the schooner parted her cable and made sail to beat to windward, when both boats were alongside of her. At the same time the tide of flood began to make, and the vessel began to strike hard, but had not made any water all night. At daylight the false keel and part of the sheathing floated alongside, and she began to break up fast; at 6 a.m. the rudder unshipped, and 5 feet of water in the hold. At $\frac{1}{2}$ past 6 made all sail to press her off the reef; and at 7 she began to go off. At this time the water was over the ballast and the casks floated in the hold. Guns were fired as signals for the schooner and boats to come to us, the sails were lowered down, and an anchor let go to keep her on the reef, for fear of sinking in deep water.

At 8 a.m., being nearly the top of high water, the fluke of the anchor gave way, and the ship drifted broadside to the sea and went over the reef. Both pumps were set agoing, the schooner kept close to us, and we steered by our sails for a small island bearing W.N.W. 3 or 4 leagues, with an intention to run her ashore. At 9 a.m. we gained on her four inches; the rudder, which fortunately a few turns of the end of the main brace was taken

through the head of, was floating astern, and by 9 a.m. shipped. There was not a glimmering hope of yet saving the vessel, and the course was altered from the island to the S.W., through a passage in the reef; and, in two days after, anchored under the lee of a small island close to the mainland of Tackanova, commonly called sandal-wood Island.

Sent the schooner to look for a passage to the W., but could find none. The crew by this time were much fatigued at the pumps. It was resolved to run her over the reef, and sent the boat at high water to sound; found $2\frac{1}{2}$ fthms. in one place, but narrow, which we crossed and got out to sea again.

We ran betwixt the reef and the main for upwards of 80 miles through many dangers, and at last anchored off Brown's Island, Mud-water Bay¹, the 19th of November, where the vessel was hove down and in five weeks completed her repairs, all to that of coppering.

After putting to sea again the Hibernia touched at Norfolk Island on the 4th of February (1810), and from thence reached Sydney after a passage of twelve days.

S.G. No. 489, May 8, 1813. The brig "Governor Macquarie" commanded by R. S. Walker, returned to Port Jackson on April 30th from Tahiti and neighbouring islands, having sailed from Sydney on the outward voyage on Sept. 6, 1812. She brought 60 tons of pearl-shell from the "pearl-islands," and 8 or 10 tons of salted pork from Tahiti. She had "also visited Palmerston Islands, in the hope of discovering and apprehending some or all of the ruffians who, about two years ago, treacherously combined and murdered Mr John Burbeck, formerly master of the brig "Cyclops," under whose orders they had been left by Capt. Fodger (*sic*) of the "Trial," for the purpose of procuring shark fins and beche la mer, and an Englishman: an account of which barbarous transaction we received and published shortly after it unhappily occurred. The chief conspirators, it appears, were two Portuguese who prevailed on their companions, among whom were several Otaheitans and other islanders, to join in this detestable project. A quantity of the natural productions of the place, that had been collected, still remained in a spoiling state. But none of the delinquents could be found.

Captain Walker also touched at the Happyes², and there found several deserters from the brig "Favourite," Capt. Fisk, who from an inconceivable degeneracy of inclination, had mingled with these uncouth and savage islanders with the very basest views

¹ 'Mud-water Bay'—yet another version of Mathuata.

² Haapai Islands.

possible, as they were employed in constructing batteries from the cannon taken out of the "Port au Prince"—a stout privateer of thirty guns which had been taken there. From the batteries they doubtless have a view to the capture of shipping that may accidentally fall within their range; and, as a pledge of their determination to do all the mischief in their power, they have planned and headed expeditions against many undefended islands, which they plundered and left destitute. The number of Europeans at the Happyes we know not: but certain it is they are capable of accomplishing much by fraud or force, and that vessels cannot be too guarded that chance to go that way¹.

S.G. No. 522, Dec. 25, 1813. On Monday last the meeting convened by the Provost Marshall for the benevolent purpose of taking into consideration some measures for affording support and relief to the natives of the South Sea Islands who may come to Port Jackson, and to promote their civilisation, took place at the New Stores, agreeably to advertisement, when the business of the meeting was opened by the Revd. Mr Marsden in a concise and appropriate speech embracing every object which the expediency of the measure could suggest to a benevolent and enlightened mind; and concluding by moving several Resolutions, which had for their object the protection from want or injury of such natives of the S.S. Islands as should occasionally come to this Colony: to instruct them in such simple and useful branches of profession as they should be capable of acquiring, and endeavour to disseminate the principles of Christianity among them.

The Resolutions were unanimously acquiesced in, and a subscription immediately commenced for the purpose of carrying the proposed measures into effect: yearly members to pay one guinea per annum, and a donation of ten guineas to constitute a member for life. A committee was afterwards chosen from among the members present, who were appointed to wait upon His Excellency the Governor, to lay the proceedings before him, and humbly to solicit His Excellency's patronage and support. Subscription lists are, we understand, to be opened at each of the principal towns in the Colony, for the purpose of affording to the distant settlers and other inhabitants an opportunity of contributing their assistance to the humane purposes of the Society; of which many, who from distance and other causes did not attend, had previously expressed a wish to become members.

¹ Mr Henry, magistrate and missionary at Tahiti, came as a passenger on the "Governor Macquarie" on this occasion.

S.G. No. 523, Jan. 1, 1814. A public meeting having, with the assent and approval of the Governor (Macquarie) been called by advertisement for 20th Nov. 1813, "to take into consideration some measures for affording Support and Relief to the Natives of the South Sea Islands who may come to Port Jackson, and to promote their civilisation," a Society of influential persons was formed about this time and styled "the New South Wales Society for the Protection and Civilisation of the Natives of the South Sea Islands":—of which the Revd. Samuel Marsden was the secretary and other promoters were:—

D. Allen	Alex Riley
G. Blaxcell	W. Broughton
J. Oxley	D. Wentworth

and Simeon Lord.

S.G. No. XII, 552, July 16, 1814. List of persons about to sail in the brig "Campbell Macquarie," Capt. R. Siddons:—

Mr Thomas Lewis, Mr John Grimes, Mr Robert Matthews, Mr Theod. Walker, Thomas Carter, John Winch, John Braddock, James Allen, James White, Fredk. Austin, John Sanstrum, George Connor, Thomas Fauster, William Conner, John McAnally, James Walker, Thos. Harper, James Anderson, John Watson, John O'Neil, Joseph Halfpenny, John Randall, Evan Evans, James Greville, Joseph King, John Nemo, George Davies, Richd. Rollo, William Gibson, Andrew Fisher, Peter Sellenberg, Stephen Parry, James Douglas, John Harpole, Luke Fowler, Thos. Robinson, Jacob Pester, Edwd. Powell junr., George Connor (bis), Oliver Slater¹, Fredk. Peters, Lawrence Murray, two Feejee women.

S.G. No. 568, Oct. 22, 1814. On Thursday (20th) arrived the "Cumberland" colonial schooner, Mr Goodenough master, from islands to the eastward of the Friendly Islands whither she from hence proceeded the 18th of January last (1814—Jan. 22nd—"On Thursday sailed the 'Cumberland,' schooner for Otaheite and the Palmottoes") with a view of procuring sandalwood; but, failing in that object, has brought a lading of wood possessing the property of dying (*sic*) various shades of yellow. This they procured at the island of Loratonga², 16 leagues east of Tongataboo, the natives of which are of the Otaheitan complexion and of similar manners, but taller and much better formed. On their

¹ Oliver Slater was, appropriately enough, in the ship which undertook practically the last (British) adventure to Fiji for sandalwood.

² Raratonga.

EXTRACTS FROM

first and second attempt to land they were prevented by the natives, who attacked them with slings from which they threw round stones 6 lbs. weight with surprising dexterity. They never the less effected a landing afterwards, and became very friendly with the natives, who were employed in procuring the wood, and paid as labourers for their assistance in toochies¹, tomahawkes, and other suitable articles. They continued a friendly intercourse until the 12th of August, when John Croker—one of the crew who had accompanied Mr Wentworth on shore, was assaulted and killed in his presence with a club so instantaneously and unexpectedly as to render Mr Wentworth's aid wholly ineffectual. As soon as he saw the unfortunate man knocked down he drew and snapped his pistol at the assailant—but it missed fire: and as there was no time for deliberation, he rushed forward to his assistance. But aid was then of no avail, for his head was bruised to a mummy and his corporal pains had ceased for ever. Mr Wentworth, having now only to provide for his own safety, took a pistol from the dead man's body, and menacing and menaced, made his way to his boat. In another quarter a similar assault had been made on others of the crew, who were on shore for provisions, and all massacred: these were William Travis, George Strait, and an Otaheitan, and Ann Butcher, an unfortunate woman who had gone from this port in the vessel, was killed at the same time when ashore on a visit to some native women who had shewn her much kindness. Mr Goodenough affirms it to be his opinion that all the murdered persons were afterwards devoured, as they had seen a part of one that exhibited every appearance of its remaining a fragment of a cannibal festival.

S.G. No. 586, Feb. 25, 1815. On Thursday returned from a voyage to the Society Islands and Marquesas, the brig "Governor Macquarie," Captain W. Campbell, with a cargo of sandalwood computed at 59 tons; and a quantity of iron, copper, etc., procured from wrecks of vessels at the Marquesas. The information derived from Capt. Campbell relative to his voyage is highly interesting. He sailed from here and arrived at Nooevah, the most considerable of the Marquesas, the 11th of Decr: and there learnt from an Englishman (Wilson) who has lived with the natives seventeen years, that nine or ten days after the departure of the "Seringapatam," which took place on the 6th of May last, the Americans left on the island as a garrison by the "Essex" frigate² were some

¹ "Toochies," *i.e.* adzes or axes.

² The full story of the wreckage which Captain Campbell of the "Governor Macquarie" found in the Marquesas, whither he had gone in search of sandalwood, is told in the "Journal of a Cruize made to the Pacific

of them murdered by the natives, and the remainder compelled to make an instantaneous escape to the ship "Sir Henry Hammond"¹. From the particulars which now reach us we have much to regret, that the men who navigated the "Seringapatam" into this Port (Sydney) were not, as they represented themselves, prisoners of war, but men who had entered into the American service from the various British ships captured by the "Essex," of which 13 had been taken by her into the island of Nooevah: while the person who conducted her: and passed by the name of Belcher, was an actual American originally belonging to the "Essex," and placed as prizemaster on board the "Seringapatam." Lieut. Gamble, of the marines in the "Essex," had, it appears, incurred the displeasure of Capt. Porter, his commander: chiefly from the circumstance—as far as the reporter could ascertain—of his having killed the second lieutenant in a duel at the Gallipagoes, and was in consequence left at Nooevah as Commandant of the island, which Capt. Porter had assumed formal possession of in behalf of the United States. The "Essex," one of her prizes converted into a sloop of war under the name of the "Young Essex"², had sailed on a three months cruize some days prior to the recapture of the "Seringapatam," leaving as a garrison two midshipmen and nine Americans (with a more than equal number of English prisoners who had entered) under the orders of Lieut. Gamble. The only ships that remained with the "Seringapatam" were the "Greenwich" and "Sir Henry Hammond."

Belcher, by which name he was here (Sydney) known, was in charge of the "Seringapatam" as prize master. On the 6th of May the Englishmen were all at work in the hold stowing the remaining property, as she was intended to be the first sent for America and was therefore kept in a tolerable condition for sea, Lieut. Gamble and the prize master were on the worst of terms, and a disagreement took place between them on that day, while the Englishmen were below at work. The prize master, irritated at some violent treatment from the Lieut. Commandant, seized a musket and shot him through the leg: then, immediately grappling with him, threw him down the hatchway, and desired the Englishmen to secure him, inviting them at the same time to come up on deck, and by an easy exertion, rid themselves of their oppressions

Ocean by Captain David Porter in the United States Frigate 'Essex,' in the years 1812, 1813, and 1814," especially in the 2nd edition, New York, 1822.

¹ The ship was the "Sir Andrew Hamond."

² The "Young Essex" had been the British Letter of Marque "Atlantic." (Porter's *Journal*, 1. 171 and 199.)

(cf. *S.G.* of July 2 and 9). No further violence was offered to Lieut. Gamble who was, with a midshipman, set on shore after the recaptors had spiked the guns on shore and taken proper care to prevent opposition. She left the place; and nine or ten days afterwards, the resident Englishman, Wilson, having drawn upon himself the umbrage of Lieut. Gamble, a boat was sent from the "Sir Henry Hammond" to plunder his effects, and if possible to seize his person. The latter they did not succeed in, but on returning to the beach with a booty composed of Wilson's property, they found the boat so high as required some exertion to launch her: in the act of doing which the boat's crew consisting of four seamen and a midshipman, unsuspecting opposition from the natives, lay down their firelocks and were immediately rushed upon and massacred.

Lieut. Gamble, on perceiving this, immediately gave orders to set fire to the "Greenwich," which was destroyed in consequence; and, with his remaining five adherents, cut and run with the "Sir Henry Hammond," with only the foresail set. No further information had been received of her. The "Governor Macquarie" delayed at that and the contiguous islands, a month.

S.G. No. 586, Feb. 25, 1815. Wanted, for the brig "Governor Macquarie" twelve able seamen to proceed on a voyage to the Eastern Islands. Apply to Capt. Campbell.

S.G. No. 587, March 4, 1815. This evening (March 4th, 1815) arrived the brig "Campbell Macquarie," Captain Siddons, belonging to Mr Joseph Underwood, from the Feejees, with about 60 tons of fine sandal wood; but in her masts and rigging a perfect wreck, having encountered a furious hurricane six days after she left the islands, in which she lost her rudder and both her masts. In this dreadful gale she lost a man, who was washed overboard: the name of the deceased was John Braddock. The vessel now lies in Botany Bay, from whence the information of her arrival was brought in overland by Mr Grimes, chief officer, and Mr Powell with a letter of advice from Capt. Siddons giving a melancholy account of the assassination of four of his people by the natives of one of the Feejee Islands: These were Mr Oliver Slater; George Connor, a youth born in this colony; William Flanagan and William Gibson, both said to be Americans.

S.G. No. 587 (*contd.*). The arrival of the "Governor Macquarie," Capt. Campbell, has awakened a spirit of adventure among us which I hope will award the exertions of those immediately engaged in the undertakings which are on foot and prove generally

beneficial to the Colony in its results. Several vessels are fitting with every dispatch possible for islands to the northward and eastward, and will doubtless adopt every necessary precaution in avoiding, as they are not qualified to contend with, American privateers or other armed vessels that may perchance speculate on a trip to the Marquesas, in the hope of gleaning a profit from the vestiges of the "Essex's" captures.

S.G. No. 588, March 11, 1815. The brig "Campbell Macquarie" Capt. Seddins, whose arrival we last week announced, sailed from here on the 17th of July last, for the Feejees with the design of procuring sandalwood, or what so ever else might promise an advantage to the voyage. On the 25th of August she made Walker's Island, where Capt. Seddins had received information that wood was to be procured; but here after a friendly intercourse with the natives for some days, he found only a species of yellow wood which, though apparently possessed of a dyeing quality, he did not think proper to risk lading with.

He afterwards touched at Palmerston's Islands, and at Tongataboo, at neither of which he made any stay. He at length took up his anchorage at the Island of Gora¹, one of the Feejees, which the vessel reached the 23rd of September, and from thence, upon the 25th, dispatched a boat for the island of Highlea, under the direction of Mr Oliver Slater, chief officer, who also acted as interpreter from his knowledge of their dialect, which he acquired during a five years residence when formerly he was cast away there. The boat's crew consisted of Mr Slater, six of the ship's company, and Bubbahae (a native of Owhyhee) accompanied by two women—one a native of a Feejee island, taken from thence, and the other taken on board during the voyage, at her own request, as an attendant on her. On the 29th the boat was seen returning to the brig with only three persons in her: and a distressing state of alarm ensued. A second boat was sent to assist her onward: and with her arrived the melancholy information, given in the *Gazette* of last week, of the murder of Mr Slater and three of the boat's crew: namely, Connor, Flanagan, and Gibson, by the natives of Mo-ee-kana, an island wherein they had agreed to shelter for a night, as the wind was foul. The account stated that finding them very friendly, Mr Slater and the above three persons, together with the two women and Bubbahae, agreed to remain on shore, though much against the advice of the latter, the boat with the two seamen remaining in her, lying moored close in to the shore. About midnight those in the boat were awakened by the

¹ Koro.

Sandwich islander, who cautioned them to be on their guard, as he suspected things were going amiss on shore: from whence a confused noise was heard immediately after, and one of their ill fated companions, whom they supposed to be Flanagan, running down to the boat, closely pursued, was overtaken in the water and killed before he could reach it. The boat was then attacked, but casting off her hawser she providentially escaped. In the hope that some of the above unfortunate persons might have escaped the massacre Captain Seddins employed other natives to ascertain their destiny, and to ransome their bodies, in order to their interment, if killed. But the enquiry only confirmed the apprehension that all had perished; with the additional regret that their bodies had been devoured, and therefore could not be restored¹.

B. MBULI NDAMA

[As the result of inquiry recently made at Mbua as to any tradition which might there survive concerning the Mbuli Ndama—it is a title of office, not a personal name—of the period when ships came for sandalwood, and guns were first seen, in the Fijian Islands, the following note was written for me, in Fijian, by Ratu Deve Toganivalu, who, as Roko Tui Mbua, is now the official head of the Province of Mbua, which was once Lockerby's "kingdom of Myemboo." It has been translated, as literally as possible, by Mr Glanvill Corney and Ratu Sukuna.

Ratu Deve is inclined to believe that the Mbuli Ndama who is the hero of the tradition here recorded was the Mbuli Ndama, or "Bulendam," of Lockerby's story. But Bulendam was killed at the siege of Tathilevu (in 1809); whereas Ratu Deve's Mbuli Ndama was killed, in Taveuni, some time after 1815, for it was he who utterly destroyed and laid waste the island of Makongai, which was still inhabited in 1815, when Oliver Slater was killed there.

On the other hand, at least one of the actions assigned in the tradition to Ratu Deve's Mbuli Ndama, the sacking of Tavea, was really done by Lockerby's "Bulendam." The most probable explanation is that these two Mbulis were

¹ The same issue of the *Sydney Gazette* [No. 588, of March 11, 1815] contains Capt. Porter's declaration of annexation to the American U.S. of the island of Nooahevah generally known by the name of "Sir Henry Martin's island." but now called Madison's island (Nukahiva): dated Nov. 19, 1813, D. Porter.

father and son, and that their deeds have been confused. At any rate, Ratu Deve's story throws considerable further light on the conditions which prevailed in Fiji towards the close of the period of the sandalwood trade, as well as some light on the continuity of descent of the Chiefs of those and of the present days. E. IM T.]

[*An account of Mbuli Ndama.*] Mbuli Ndama is the official title of that Mbuli. His real (personal) name was Rokotuvuni; his title of honour was Mbola-i-tamana. There are three distinctive names usually given to persons (as a reward) for valour in battle: (1) Koro, (2) Wanqa, (3) Mbola; these are always given with a chief's or lady's name to be quoted jointly:—thus, Koro-i-sukuna, Wanqa-ni-navunivalu, Mbola-i-yanda¹. Rokotuvuni was probably called after his own father ("tamana" = "his father") for his prowess, and so acquired the name of Mbola-i-tamana. The father of Mbola-i-tamana was Nqerewanqa, the Mbuli Ndama. On the death of Nqerewanqa, his son Mbola-i-tamana was installed Mbuli Ndama². He was the regular (true or natural) Chief in Ndama, and a Chief of valour and renown. It is common knowledge that Ndama was a very dominant district in bygone times; at the period, perhaps, when Mbola-i-tamana ruled it.

Mbola-i-tamana put up some big fights in his time, and his name resounded far and wide in consequence. One was at Mouta in Mathuata, to which place he lead his forces, and where they sacked Mouta. A second was at Yasawa, against which he made war, and also gained the victory. Thirdly, against Mokongai³, the

¹ Ratu Deve's statement that there were these three titles of honour (Koro, Wanqa, and Mbola) is not known to be recorded elsewhere, and is therefore important. Moreover, this use of the word *koro*, which much more commonly means a town, a cluster of houses, or a village (as Koro-vatu—the Gorabato of Lockerby, see p. 36, n. 3) is especially noteworthy. The word is also used of a hill, especially to a hill fort or stronghold on a hill such as were common in Fiji. Possibly the word originally implied exaltation, and in this sense was applied to an upstanding hill and to an eminent warrior, later also to a town on a hill, and still later to one on level ground.

² Mbuli Ndama ("Bulendam") of Lockerby's story, according to Ratu Deve, had as his personal name *Nqerewanqa*; after his death (at the siege of Tathilevu) he was succeeded as Mbuli Ndama by his son Rokotuvuni, who was subsequently accorded the title of Mbola, to which was joined the word *tamana* (father): he thus became Mbola-i-tamana.

³ Oliver Slater was killed in 1815 (see pp. 212-214 *ante*) by the native inhabitants of the island of Makongai, where, when in 1890 it was adopted as a Leper Station, only faint traces of native occupation at some former time were found. It is now clear that it was inhabited at least till 1815, soon after which year its people were destroyed by Mbola-i-tamana.

island now serving as a leper settlement, upon the people of which he made war, and vanquished them, leaving the place an empty waste. Fourthly, at Navove, the head village of Vuya—Vuya and Ndama being one tract of land. For Navotua, another powerful district in Mbua, had then two formidable chiefs, named Longa and Ndungu-wanga respectively. These leaders collected a force with which to invade Naveve, and when Mbola-i-tamana got word of this he went with his own warriors to the assistance of the Naveve people, with the result that the Navotua people were beaten off, and Ndungu-wanga, one of their celebrated leaders, was killed. Fifthly, his attack on Tavea, and its destruction. The people of Tavea to-day have no knowledge of any record of this attack; they have heard only that it is said there was a great fight at some bygone time and that Tavea was taken by assault; but they do not know whence the attack was made nor by whose instigation.

In 1918 when the people were building a house for the *Turanga-ni-koro*¹ from Tavea, at the site to which they have recently removed, they discovered, while digging for the foundation of the house, a huge grave in which a great number of persons had been buried together; but when they had unearthed sixteen skulls they got frightened, and proceeded no further with unearthing them. They found in that grave a club of the kind called *nqata*, much decayed by the earth and thinned in girth; and also a necklace known as *navua sangali*², both of which relics are now with me. Neither do they know at Tavea whether any tradition exists concerning this great grave; but it looks as if it might be that of the people who were slaughtered in the raid made by Mbola-i-tamana³.

A white man's ship came to anchor in Mbua Bay in those

¹ The *Turanga-ni-koro* is the official chief or headman of a town or village.

² *Navua sangali* literally means the fruit (ovary) of the *sangali* tree (*Lumnitzia coccinea*), a tree common in the mangrove swamps of the islands. But, according to a native informant, the name is applied to a necklace of artificially shaped whales' teeth.

³ As to the great burial pit recently found at Tavea, Mr Thomas Smith, second officer of the "Favourite" (*S.G.* 258; see p. 193 *ante*), has recorded that the bodies of the folk slain at Tavea, during the assault by "Bulendam's" party in 1808, were laid out for display on board Mboli Ndama's great canoe (no doubt, a *ndrua*) to the number of forty-two; that one more was added afterwards; and that the feast was dismembered and cooked on the main-land. But it is quite probable that more than forty-three were killed on that occasion, though only that number of bodies fell into the hands of the enemy. It may well be that it was these last-named who were buried in the great pit uncovered in 1918.

times¹, on board of which Mbola-i-tamana went, and there he saw guns for the first time².—I suppose they may have been *nqiwa vatu* (lit. “stone caps”)³, and he bartered away one of his sisters to the captain for a gun; but the woman fled away by swimming at night. After getting this gun into his possession the name and fame of Mbola-i-tamana resounded far and wide throughout Vanua Levu and Thakaundrove. Well, about that time the Chiefs of Thakaundrove and Natewa were at war with each other, and when the latter heard of Mbola-i-tamana’s hardihood through possessing the gun, they went right into Ndama to beg his co-operation with them in an expedition against the Chiefs of Thakaundrove at Somosomo. And so, Mbola-i-tamana led forth his warriors and accompanied the Natewa people to go and assault Somosomo. The Thakaundrove Chiefs received information that Mbola-i-tamana was on his way forward to attack them. Now there was a certain Tongan who had lived in Ndama for some time and knew Mbola-i-tamana well, and his prowess in war. This man afterwards went to live in Thakaundrove, and was at Somosomo at the time that preparation for the struggle with Mbola-i-tamana was being made. On the day when the enemy were being ferried across from Vanu Levu to Taveuni, the Tongan spoke to the Thakaundrove Chiefs and said, “I know this valiant chief very well who is coming across to attack us. If he should succeed in effecting a landing among us with his forces, there will not be one of us left alive; he will entirely devastate the land. There is only

¹ The “El Plumier” Cptn. Reid (with Oliver Slater on board) was the first ship to anchor in Mbua Bay. It must have been to Mbua that the unfortunate ship drifted from Koro; and it was at Mbua that she made shift to repair damages.

² Mr Corney comments as follows on this passage in Ratu Deve’s memorandum: “There are certain passages in which the primitive construction of Fijian prevents accuracy of translation. For instance, about the gun: ‘*ka nqai raitha vakandua kina na ndakai*’ really means ‘and then saw thereby for the first time the guns.’ *Vakandua* is ‘for the first time’: *Na ndakai* may equally stand for any number of guns, there being no declension or inflection. A cannon is *ndakai-ni-vanua*.”

³ Mr Corney tells me that the expression *nqiwa vatu* is new to him, but that a percussion cap is *nqiwa* and *vatu* is “stone”—hence *nqiwa vatu* may mean flint-lock.

Hazlewood, in his *Dictionary*, gives “*qiwa*, n., a flint stone, properly a thunderbolt or stone that falls in a tempest well known by the natives.” If it may be assumed that the “thunderbolt well known to the natives” was not a stone implement (which the Fijians of Hazlewood’s time—1850–60—probably knew to be made by human hands) but a meteorite, it would seem much more reasonable that the word *nqiwa* should be applied, when guns were first seen, to the flint-lock of a gun and only subsequently to a percussion cap.

one way in which to baulk them, and that is to dash them at sea, for the Ndama people are a tribe of landsmen and can do nothing whatever afloat. But if they once get ashore we shall be unable to do anything at all to hold them in check, they will simply wipe us out."

The Thakaundrove Chiefs followed the Tongan's advice, and immediately got their war-canoes ready for action, to attack the enemy off Navaranui (Somosomo Strait), where they encountered them as they were being ferried across to Taveuni. The Ndama forces were broken up in the fight, and Mbola-i-tamana himself was killed. While the dead of the Ndama party were being conveyed over to Somosomo, one of the bodies, that of a Nambuna man, a fine young adult of robust appearance, was thought by the Thakaundrove Chiefs to be Mbola-i-tamana's; and in the course of piling the bodies to be eaten into heaps, that of this Nambuna man was laid aside, in the belief that it was Mbola-i-tamana. But when the Tongan saw it, he said, 'this is not Mbola-i-tamana: go and search him out among the heaps; if you see one with a shark tattooed on his thighs, that is Mbola-i-tamana.' So they went to look, and they found him.

After the death of Mbola-i-tamana, his son, named Taiviti, was appointed Mbuli Ndama as his successor. Taiviti was ruler of Ndama at the time Christianity was introduced into the Mbua Province. When the foreign missionary was (stationed) at Nasavu, and his creed was explained to Taiviti, the Chief approved of it and became a convert to it. But some of the other Chiefs in Ndama and Mbua resented his action, and hatched a conspiracy against him, which was the cause of his assassination at Nawatha, whither he had gone to preach Christianity.

Taiviti's son was Sitiveni Raya, who was installed Mbuli Ndama about the time when the British flag was hoisted in Fiji. And Sitiveni Raya was the father of Isikeli Tuiwailevu (the present Mbuli Ndama) and Eparama Baravilala (the Mbuli Mbua now); both of these being great grandsons of Mbola-i-tamana¹.

¹ The following table suggests the relationship between Lockerby's Mbuli Ndama (1808-9) to the occupants of the corresponding posts in 1918: Ngerewanqa, Mbuli Ndama, killed at Tathilevu in 1809.

Rokotuvuni, Mbuli Ndama, entitled Mbola-i-tamana, killed at Somosomo after 1815.

Taiviti, Mbuli Ndama, when Christianity was introduced into Mbua (1850?).

Sitiveni, Mbuli Ndama, when the British flag was hoisted (1874).

Isikeli Tuiwailevu (Mbuli Ndama in 1918) and Eparama Baravilala (Mbuli Mbua in 1918).

C. TRISTAN D'ACUNHA IN 1811

[The manuscript of this letter from Jonathan Lambert is inserted in the copy of John Purdey's *Tables of Positions* (London, 1816, 4to. B.M. Press Mark, 981. i. 19) which belonged to Sir Joseph Banks, and is in the British Museum Library.

Between two and three years after Lockerby had landed on Tristan d'Acunha and found it unoccupied except by sea-elephants and penguins, Jonathan Lambert, a New England sailor, took possession and proclaimed his sovereignty "on the sure and rational ground of absolute occupancy." The letter shows that he did do as much as any one man could do to develop the desert island. Unfortunately, after about two years Lambert was drowned in passing between Tristan d'Acunha and Inaccessible Island. E. IM T.]

GREAT ISLAND TRISTAN D'ACUNHA.

DEC. 21, 1811.

Captain Jara Briggs.

Dear Sir,

Compliant to your desire when I saw you last at Rio Janeiro, I now drop you a few lines to be sent by the first Vessel stopping here. I should have written by Capt. Lovel on his return from this place, but as I had nothing worth communicating, I reserved myself until I could by a year's residence give you some account of my situation & of the Soil Clime & productions of this Island & the surrounding Waters. But however I have classed them above, I shall begin with the Climate, which is very healthy, being neither cold nor hot, but exceeding temperate—It never freezes, nor is there heat enough for ripening Melons, I think, at least not without Inclosures, of which I have none. It is rather windy, but no very severe gales as yet. In the Winter and Spring it rains often—rendering it very disagreeable to us, who have but a sorry Jackstraw's Hut, thatched with coarse grass without Floor &c. But we have Weeks together as fine Weather as Summer, and Vegetation goes on finely through the year. All the hardy kinds of Kitchen Garden Stuff flourish better in Winter than Summer, as in the latter Season they are apt to run for seed such as Cabbage, French Lapland & round Turnips, Beet Carrot Parsnip Pease Radish Lettuce Onion Parsley &c. &c. Potatoes suit the Soil, which is a light one, and composed for the most part of Vegetable Mould. A Stream of Water which might vie with

many celebrated Streams. There are three constant Streams on this North side of the Island. The Land is coverd with Wood quite up to the Mountains, but of a creeping kind of a Shrub, many of the size of an Apple Tree. Ships may procure what Wood & Water they want for all culinary purposes.

Of Land fit for Cultivation I think there are 3 or 400 acres on this side, including a fine Meadow of about 12 or 15 acres. On this Cattle may feed the year round. I have a small flock of Geese which give me no trouble to feed, as they find abundance of green herbage throughout the year & as I do not mean to kill any of them, except perhaps some spare Ganders until I have 50 breeding Geese, I may expect in a little time to have a good stock of them. Dunghill Fowls breed 3 or 4 times the Year. I have one now setting for the fourth time & I think she will make out to bring the fifth set of Chickens before Winter. Of Ducks I have only ten; having lost all my Turkeys, Muscovy Ducks, & all of the English Ducks except three, by their eating Fish Guts last Winter. I have a piece of ground about 10 or 12 acres containing two Ponds where the Sea Elephants abound, here I have 8 Sows & 4 Boars quite tame, all of which save 5 we have caught on the Island, of which there are many more; some we have shot and some have knocked down &c. All this Stock together with ourselves live at present on the flesh of the Elephant. The Pigs however may live altogether on *Herbage* where they are, for which purpose indeed, I put them down there, but I give them an Elephant once in 10 or 15 days to keep them in heart. The Dandelion grows here in the greatest luxuriance and very abundant. All the Pigs live on these & on the root of a pleasant smelling Strawberry leaved kind of Geranium. We have a few wild Goats of which kind I suppose there are 12 or 16 left. I want a few Sheep, tame Goats and Rabbits to stock the Island with Game. We have the little black Cock in great numbers & in the fall are very fat and delicate. We caught some hundreds last year with a Dog, but I have none proper for them such as a Terrier would be.

The Mountains are covered with Albatross Mollahs Petrels Sea Hens &c.; A great deal of Feathers might be had if people were to attend to it. For the Waters they are well furnished, Fish are to be had at any time for the trouble of taking, whenever the Sea is smooth enough to fish from the Rocks. We have no Boat & of course can not have them so often as we want them—but on a kind of Raft of six pieces we push off on a smooth time, & take many Sheepshead Crayfish, Grampus & large Mackarel. From the Rocks which is the mode we are obliged to take, we supply ourselves sometimes, but are obliged to use a large piece of Elephant

meat to entice them near enough the Rock. Boat would be Victuals and drink to us. In the deep Waters there are large Fish as Cavallas, and a kind fat as Salmon, and I have no doubt but very large Grampus are to be found there. Sea Elephants are plenty, and they Pup yearly, coming up in the months of Augt & Sept. for that purpose. About a month or five weeks they take the Male, & then go off to feed, & in 6 or 8 weeks come up & remain a month or two to shed their old coat & get a new one, and from that time are for the most part lying about in the Sun asleep. The Males however stay off longer, as they are more exhausted by their Commerce with the Females, & are three times longer, of cours require a longer period to feed. Their food is chiefly Kelp, but I have found Squid in their stomach. During the Pupping Season the Black Fish are very numerous and equally rapacious, always on the look out for the Elephants great or small. I have seen them attack young or *old ones*, & carry young ones off. They run themselves aground on the Beach very often, so that we Lance them frequently and shoot into them. This last season I think a 1000 Pups were brought forth on this Island & as many more on the other two, & I suppose, when I passed near those Islands in the passage out to Bengal in the Grand Turk, they must have been almost innumerable—seeing some parties or other have been oiling here ever since—and so many yet remain. If they are not disturbed for two or three years, the increase must be great and profitable, especially if their skins are attended to & salted. We have killed about 80 since we landed, & I suppose shall kill about two a week through the Year. We have made about 1000 Gallons of Oil for the purpose of buying a Boat if possible. Of Seals we have taken a dozen.

Our situation, like all new Settlers, has not been very comfortable. We have not eat bread these six Months—that parcel you so kindly supplied me with lasted about that time. But Turnips have been Bread to us. I hope to have as many Potatoes in 3 or 4 months, as will always stand by us while I remain on the Island. But Cloths I shall want, & must depend upon vessels for a supply of them. The prospect of one day making something from the Oil & Skins of the Elephants & Seals, from the Fish & other matters, consoles me for all other privations.

I shall now submit for your consideration a proposal which may perhaps be feazible & which you may on reflection adopt, viz. to join me in the business of making Oil & Skins on these Islands. The mode I shall recommend will be simple & the least expensive which can be undertaken, that is to buy a small fishing Schooner, of about 50 tons, such as may often be had very early in the Spring

or late in the fall, in Cape Cod for 500\$ & if you wish to give your brother Jonson employment for a year or two, send him here in her, with 10 or 12 men. Two or three of these kind of Boats called at Cape Cod. Half Boats a kind of Whale Boat which cost about 25\$ there, with provisions enough for 12 months. For the purpose of saving the Oil, a Cistern, as they have at the Cape of Good Hope, should be made. Stones enough are on the spot. Lime and a Mason or two (many of a roving disposition may be found cheap in these times) with a frame suitable for the size of the Cistern, with Boards &c. to cover & make it tight. A plank flooring to support the Casks, which should be filled from a small wooden Pump let down into the Cistern. The Building would answer for the Man to live in. Some Hhds. Salt which at Cape Cod cost 50\$ Hhd.—and two or three Asses to carry blubber & Skins from a distance, for the greatest part of the work of the Oilers is to bring the Blubber to the Coppers. Two Boilers of Iron holding from 60 to 90 Gallons each, with Ladle Skimmer Cooler Strainer Knives Steels Grindstone Beaming Knives Clank for Beams &c. By the time a vessel gets here, I should be able to supply a considerable part of their daily food from my Pigs Potatoes & other Vegetables beside Fish &c. A Cistern 40 feet long 15 feet wide and 10 deep would contain from 1000 to 1100 Barrels, which may be made in 15 months, if the Boilers are kept properly going. And as the Elephant in general makes about a Barrel of Oil (tho' some of the Males will produce 100 gallons) of course there would be as many skins as Barrels of Oil, besides at least 1000 Pup Skins—which are very fine & pretty, & no doubt would altogether average one dollar each. The Oil in the Cistern would require Barrels or other Casks to carry it to Market, but if it remained for some time, it would be always safe, & growing better for standing to settle; and as the Cistern would last many years, the expence once defrayed, either by Oil Skins &c. it may always be kept full at very little expence & ready to ship whenever a market was to be found for it. If the proposal should be relished, I should like to be jointly concerned in it, but, as I have no Money to advance, I could only at first lend my assistance towards completing the business, while it would be your part to furnish the means to get it once *underway*.

I do not in the above Estimate include the Seal Skins, but there are many about these Islands, & perhaps 1000 or 1200 might be taken in 15 or 18 months, without neglecting any other part of the business or costing a farthing to obtain them. Fish would be an article worth attending to, as they are when salted and dried very fine & such as I have seen at the Isle of France for \$6 the

110 lbs.—that however and the Seal Skins may remain in the background, making use of them when occasion may require to fill a small vessel with an assorted Cargo of Oil, Skins, Fish &c. for the Rio Market if it be thought proper. Oil was worth 50cts. when you was there, and that is more than it is worth in America, & a much nearer Market. Empty Pipes are plenty at Rio, and put in proper order might be stowed in the Hold and filled from the Cistern by the means of Barrels or half Brlls. and carried on board with great ease & safety, & the Casks always fresh furnished if the Oil sold at Rio. Even if the Oil sold at Rio for 30cts. per Gallon it would be worth pursuing, for the Cistern only once filled, could with very little aid from Men & a few Asses be always kept full, & the small Craft may make what speed she pleases to take it away, besides the means of being so readily furnished with casks and the vicinity of the Market to the Cistern. Elephant Skins I have seen in an English paper, sell well in London, why then may not Rio furnish a Market for them also, when well salted and dried, seeing so many English Merchants & Agents are constantly buying up everything which will answer as Remittances &c. And surely being a Roman Catholic Country, the Fish would sell as well as in most places. Upon the whole I feel satisfied that a Voyage (if Voyage it may be called, the interest of which would not cease at the end of that Voyage) of the kind would in the present times answer very well, & your Brother Jonson would find opportunity & encouragement for his well known talents & abilities. At any rate the Oil fit (outfit?) would not be great, say \$2000, & the benefit would be lasting to you. The Men may be had upon Shares, & when the Cistern becomes full new arrangements may be made with a Crew if necessary. Bear in mind that one Ass is equal to two men in bringing Blubber, consequently 4 or 6 Asses with 3 Men would equal a Crew of 11 or 15 Men—8 or 12 of whom would require very different provisions from Asses, the latter finding Food at every step. Two Men at the Boiler & one to load the Asses & drive them, would do the work of many Men, & save great expence in Provisions & shares of the Oil as Wages. I leave it now to your consideration how far it will suit you to enter into a concern of the kind. At any rate the business should begin small, in order to see first what may be done (there is no doubt in my mind it will succeed & become very lucrative). What I have related above respecting the Elephant Seal Fish &c. may be relied upon, & I could with 2 or 3 more Men procure in two seasons a ton Feathers equal to any in the Market. Should any Vessel be bound to the Cape, or round it, do drop me a line & inform me of the Receipt of this if

it comes to hand. Respects to your Brother Jonson &c., & believe me with respect,

your obedient Servant

J. LAMBERT.

(Note appended to the above letter).

The original of this letter is in my possession—& was brought by Capt. Beville from Tristan d'Acunha after the death of Mr. Lambert. Alex. Walton.

PLANTS ON THE ISLAND OF TRISTAN.

1 Dock	11 Ice Plant
2 Celery	12 Creeping Moss
3 Parsnip	13 Berry Bush
4 Fern	14 A Trailer like Sweet Briar
5 Sweet Herb	15 Do.
6 Geranium	16 Samphire
7 Wormwood	17 Dandelion
8 Grass called Tussu	18 A Plant growing like Fern
9 Do. small	19 Tree
10 Round Spines in Tufts	

LIST OF BOOKS CONSULTED

Admiralty Sailing Directions. *See* No. 38.

1. ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER, Vol. x (1808).
Australian Records, Historical. *See* Nos. 25 and 26.
2. BANCROFT, H. H. History of the North West Coast. (San Francisco, 1886.)
3. BAYLY, George. Sea Life Sixty Years Ago: A Record of Adventures which led up to the Discovery of the Relics of the Long-missing Expedition commanded by the Comte de la Perouse. (London, 1885.)
4. BENGAL HURKARU. (Calcutta, 1826.)
5. BLIGH, Wm. Voyage to the South Sea, undertaken by command of His Majesty, for the purpose of conveying the Bread-Fruit Tree to the West Indies, in His Majesty's Ship "Bounty," commanded by Lieutenant Bligh, etc. (London, 1792.)
(*For Capt. Bligh's second voyage through Fiji, see* No. 34.)
6. BRETT, H. Guide to Fiji; A Handbook for Residents, Tourists, etc. (Star Office, Auckland, 1881.)
7. BREWSTER, A. B. Record of Forty Years' intimate connection with the Tribes of the Mountainous Interior of Fiji, with a description of their Habits in War and Peace, Methods of Living, Characteristics Mental and Physical, from the Days of Cannibalism to the Present Time. (London, 1923.)
8. CALCUTTA GOVERNMENT GAZETTE (for 1809 and 1826).
9. CLEVELAND, Richard J. Narrative of Voyages and Commercial Enterprises. (London, 1842.)
10. COLLINS, David. Account of the English Colony in New South Wales, From its first settlement in January 1788, to August 1801: With remarks on the Dispositions, Customs, Manners, etc. of the Native Inhabitants of that Country....To which are added some particulars of New Zealand; Compiled, by permission, from the MSS. of Lieutenant-Governor King; [And an account of the Voyage performed by Captain Flinders and Mr Bass; by which the existence of a Strait separating Van Dieman's Land from the Continent of New Holland was ascertained: Abstracted from the Journal of Mr Bass. By Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, of the Royal Marines, late Judge-Advocate and Secretary of the Colony*]. (London: Vol. I, 1798, Vol. II, 1802.)

*(*The words between brackets are not on the title page of Vol. I.*)

11. COLONY of FIJI. Report of the Commission appointed to inquire into the Decrease of the Native Population, with Appendices. (Suva: Government Printing Office, 1896.)
12. CONSTABLE'S MISCELLANY. Vol. iv. (Adventures of British Seamen.)
 - I. Narrative of the Shipwreck of the "Antelope" in August 1783; with an account of the Pellew Islands to the Present Time.
 - II. Particulars of the Destruction of a British vessel (the "Boyd") on the Coast of New Zealand, etc. (Edinburgh, 1827.)
13. COOK, Capt. James. Voyage to the Pacific Ocean...performed under the Direction of Captains Cook, Clerke, and Gore, In His Majesty's Ships the "Resolution" and "Discovery," In the Years 1776, 1777, 1778, 1779, 1780. (London, 1784.)
Decrease of Native Population. *See* No. 11.
14. DELANO, Amasa. Narrative of Voyages and Travels, in the Northern and Southern Hemispheres: Comprising Three Voyages Round the World: together with a Voyage of Survey and Discovery in the Pacific Ocean and Oriental Islands. (Boston, 1817.)
15. DILLON, Peter. Narrative and Successful Result of a Voyage in the South Seas, performed by Order of the Government of British India, to ascertain the Actual Fate of La Perouse's Expedition; interspersed with Accounts of the Religion, Customs, Manners, and Cannibal Practices in the South Sea Islanders. (London, 1829.)
16. D'URVILLE, Dumont. Voyage de la Corvette "L'Astrolabe" exécuté par Ordre du Roi, Pendant les Années 1826, 1827, 1828, 1829. (Paris, 1830.)
17. —— Voyage au Pol Sud, et dans l'Océanie, sur les Corvettes "L'Astrolabe" et "La Zélée," exécuté par Ordre du Roi, Pendant les Années 1837, 1838, 1839, 1840. (Paris, 1841.)
18. ERSKINE, J. E. Journal of a Cruise among the Islands of the Western Pacific, including the Feejees and others inhabited by the Polynesian Negro Race, in Her Majesty's Ship "Havannah." (London, 1853.)
19. FANNING, Edmund. Voyages Round the World; with selected sketches of Voyages to the South Seas, North and South Pacific Oceans, China, etc.; performed under the command and agency of the Author; also information relating to Important Late Discoveries between the Years 1792 and 1832; together with the Report of the Commander of the First American Exploring Expedition, patronized by the United States Government, in the brigs "Seraph" and "Annawan," to the Southern Hemisphere. (London, 1834.)
20. GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE. (Vol. xc, 1820.)

21. HAMILTON, George. *Voyage round the World in His Majesty's Frigate "Pandora."* Performed under the Direction of Captain Edwards, in the Years 1790, 1791, 1792. With the Discoveries made in the South Sea; and the many Distresses experienced by the Crew, from Shipwreck and Famine, in a Voyage of Eleven Hundred Miles in open Boats, between Endeavour Straits and the Island of Timor. (Berwick, 1793.) (*See also* No. 50.)

22. HAZLEWOOD, David. A Comprehensive Grammar of the Feejeean Language; with Examples of Native Idioms. (By the Rev. D. Hazlewood, Wesleyan Missionary. Vewa, Feejee. Printed at the Wesleyan Mission Press. 1850. Sold by J. Mason, Conference Office, London.)

23. — A Short English and Feejeean Dictionary. (Same Author and imprint, but dated 1852, and "Sold by J. Mason, 14, City Road, London.")

24. — A Fijian and English and an English and Fijian Dictionary: with Examples of Common and Peculiar Modes of Expression and Uses of Words; also containing Brief Hints on Native Customs, Proverbs, the Native Names of Natural Productions, and Notices of the Islands of Fiji; And a Grammar of the Language, with Examples of Native Idioms. By the late David Hazlewood. Second Edition, with Map. Edited by James Calvert. (London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., Fleet Street. Sydney: C. T. Sandon, 324 George Street, 1872.)

25. HISTORICAL RECORDS of AUSTRALIA: Series I. Governor's Despatches to and from England. Vols. IV to VIII (1903-1915).

26. HISTORICAL RECORDS of NEW SOUTH WALES. Vols. I to VII (all published). (Sydney, 1893-1901.)

27. HORSBURGH, James. India Directory, or Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, Australia and the Intercurrent Ports. (London, 7th edition, 1855.)
"Ida Lee." *See* No. 34.

28. KOTZEBUE, Otto von. *Voyage of Discovery, into the South Sea and Beering's Straits, for the purpose of Exploring a North-East Passage, undertaken in the Years 1815-1818, at the expense of His Highness the Chancellor of the Empire, Count Romanzoff, in the Ship "Rurick," under the command of the Lieutenant in the Russian Imperial Navy, Otto von Kotzebue.* (London, 1821.)

29. KRUSENSTERN, A. J. von. *Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques, pour servir d'analyse et d'explication à l'Atlas de l'Océan Pacifique.*
(2) *Suppléments au Recueil de Mémoires Hydrographiques, publiés en 1826 et 1827.* (St Petersburg, 1826-1835.)

30. JEWITT, John R. *Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of John R. Jewitt: only survivor of the crew of the ship "Boston," during a captivity of nearly three years among the Savages of Nootka Sound; With an account of the Manners, Mode of Living, and Religious Opinion of the Natives.* (Ithaka, N.Y., 1849.)

31. LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY. *Missionary Voyage to the Southern Pacific Ocean, performed in the Years 1796, 1797, 1798, in the ship "Duff," commanded by Captain James Wilson, compiled from the Journals of the Officers and the Missionaries; and illustrated with Maps, Charts, and Views, drawn by Mr William Wilson, and engraved by the most Eminent Artists. With a Preliminary Discourse on the Geography and History of the South Sea Islands; and an Appendix, including details never before published of the Natural and Civil State of Otaheite; By a Committee appointed for the purpose by the Directors of the Missionary Society.* (London, 1799.)

32. LOVETT, Richard. *History of the London Missionary Society, 1795-1895.* (London, 1899.)

33. McCAW, G. T. *Report of a Trigonometrical Survey of Vanua Levu and Taveuni.* (London, 1917.)

MARINER, William. *See No. 35.*

34. MARRIOTT, Mrs Charles Bruce ("Ida Lee"). *Captain Bligh's Second Voyage to the South Sea.* (London, 1920.)

35. MARTIN, John. *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands, in the South Pacific Ocean. With an original Grammar and Vocabulary of their Language. Compiled and arranged from the extensive communications of Mr WILLIAM MARINER, several years resident in those Islands. By Dr John Martin, M.D.* (London, 1817.)
(The second edition, published in 1818, purports to have additions—and has, a few—with the result that the pagination of the two is not identical.)

36. MONTHLY MAGAZINE AND BRITISH REGISTER (Vol. xvii, 1894).

37. MUNRO, W. H. *Tales of an Old Sea Port. A General Sketch of the History of Bristol, Rhode Island, including, incidentally, an Account of the Voyages of the Norsemen, so far as they may have been connected with Narragansett Bay; and Personal Narratives of some Notable Voyages accomplished by sailors from the Mount Hope Lands.* (Princeton University Press, and London, Oxford University Press, 1917.)

38. PACIFIC ISLANDS PILOT (Central Groups). (5th edition, London, 1918.)

39. PAYNE, R. D. *Ships and Sailors of Old Salem: The Record of a Brilliant Era of American Achievement.* (Chicago, 1912.)
(N.B. An edition has been published in England, in this year

1924, without any indication of being a republication of an American book.)

40. PATTERSON, Samuel. Narrative of the Adventures and Sufferings of Samuel Patterson, experienced in the Pacific Ocean, and many other parts of the World, with an Account of the Feegee and Sandwich Islands. ("From the Press in Palmer, May 1st, 1817.")
 --(The copy, Second Edition, purporting to be "enlarged," in the British Museum Library bears the imprint: "PROVIDENCE, Printed at the Journal Office, 1825.")

41. PORTER, David. Journal of a Cruise made to the Pacific Ocean, by Captain David Porter, in the United States Frigate "Essex," in the Years 1812, 1813, and 1814; Containing Descriptions of the Cape de Verd Islands, Coasts of Brazil, Patagonia, Chili, and Peru, and of the Gallipagos Islands; also a full Account of the Washington Groupe of Islands, the Manners, Customs, and Dress of the Inhabitants, etc., etc. (Philadelphia, 1815.)
 (The Second Edition, published at New York in 1822, has the following addition to the Title Page: "To which is now added, the Transactions at Valparaiso, from the period of the Author's arrival to the capture of the "Essex"; the fate of the party left at Maddison's Island, under Lieutenant (now Major) Gamble; and an Introduction in which the charges contained in the Quarterly Review, of the First Edition of this Journal, are examined, and the ignorance, prejudice, and misrepresentations of the Reviewer exposed.")

42. PRINCE OF WALES' ISLAND GAZETTE. Nos. 127, 130, and 132, for 1808: and No. 184, for 1809.

43. ORANGE, Rev. James. Narrative of the late George Vason, of Nottingham, one of the First Missionaries sent out by the London Missionary Society, in the ship "Duff," Captain Wilson, 1796. Giving an account of his Voyage Outward, settlement in Tongataboo, apostacy, Heathen Life, Escape from the Island, Return to England, Subsequent Life, and Death in 1838, aged 66 years. With a Preliminary Essay on the Geography of the South Sea Islands, also a Description of the Manners, Habits, Customs, Traditions, etc., etc., of the Inhabitants, and a succinct Account of the South Sea Island Missions. (Derby, 1840.)
 (See also No. 55.)
 Oriental Navigator. See No. 47.

44. SAILING SHIPS OF NEW ENGLAND, 1607-1907. By John Robinson, Curator of the Marine Room, Peabody Museum of Salem, and George Francis Dow, Curator for the Society for the preservation of New England Antiquities. (Salem, Mass., 1922.)

45. SEEMANN, Berthold. *Flora Vitiensis: A Description of the Plants of the Viti or Fiji Islands.* (London, 1865-1873.)

46. SMITH, William. *Journal of a Voyage in the Missionary Ship "Duff," in the Pacific Ocean, in the Years 1796, 7, 8, 9, 1800, 1, 2, etc.: Comprehending authentic and circumstantial Narratives of the Disasters which attended the first effort of the London Missionary Society. Interspersed with a variety of singular incidents and adventures.* With an Appendix. (New York, 1813.)

47. STEVENS, John. *The Oriental Navigator; or New Directions for Sailing to and from the East Indies, China, New Holland, &c. &c.* Also for the use of the Country Ships Trading in the Indian and China Seas, Pacific Ocean, &c. &c. [Third Edition. By John Stevens. London, Laurie & Whittle, 1808.]

48. SYDNEY GAZETTE AND NEW SOUTH WALES ADVERTISER. From 1803 to 1826.

49. TASMAN, Abel Janzoon. *Journal of his Discovery of Van Diemen's Land and New Zealand in 1642, with Documents relating to his Exploration of Australia in 1644: Being photolithographic facsimiles of the original manuscript in the Colonial Archives of the Hague: With an English translation and facsimiles of original maps: To which are added Life and Labours of Abel Janzoon Tasman.* By J. E. Heeres. (Amsterdam, 1898.)

50. THOMSON, Sir Basil. *Voyage of H.M.S. "Pandora," Despatched to arrest the Mutineers of the "Bounty" in the South Seas, 1790-1791.* Being the Narratives of Captain Edward Edwards, R.N., the Commander, and George Hamilton, the Surgeon. With Introduction and Notes by Basil Thomson. (London, 1915.)
(See also No. 21.)

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(See also No. 43.)

(*The "Four Years' Resident" was certainly George Vason, or, as the Missionary Society's records have it, Veeson. The "eminent writer" who took down Vason's narrative was possibly a certain Rev. S. Piggott. There were at least two editions of this Authentic Narrative, i.e. in 1810 and 1815. The version published by the Rev. James Orange in 1840 (see No. 43) has considerable additional matter, doubtless obtained from Vason in later years. The importance of Vason's story lies in the fact that he left the Friendly Islands some five years before William Mariner landed there.*)

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